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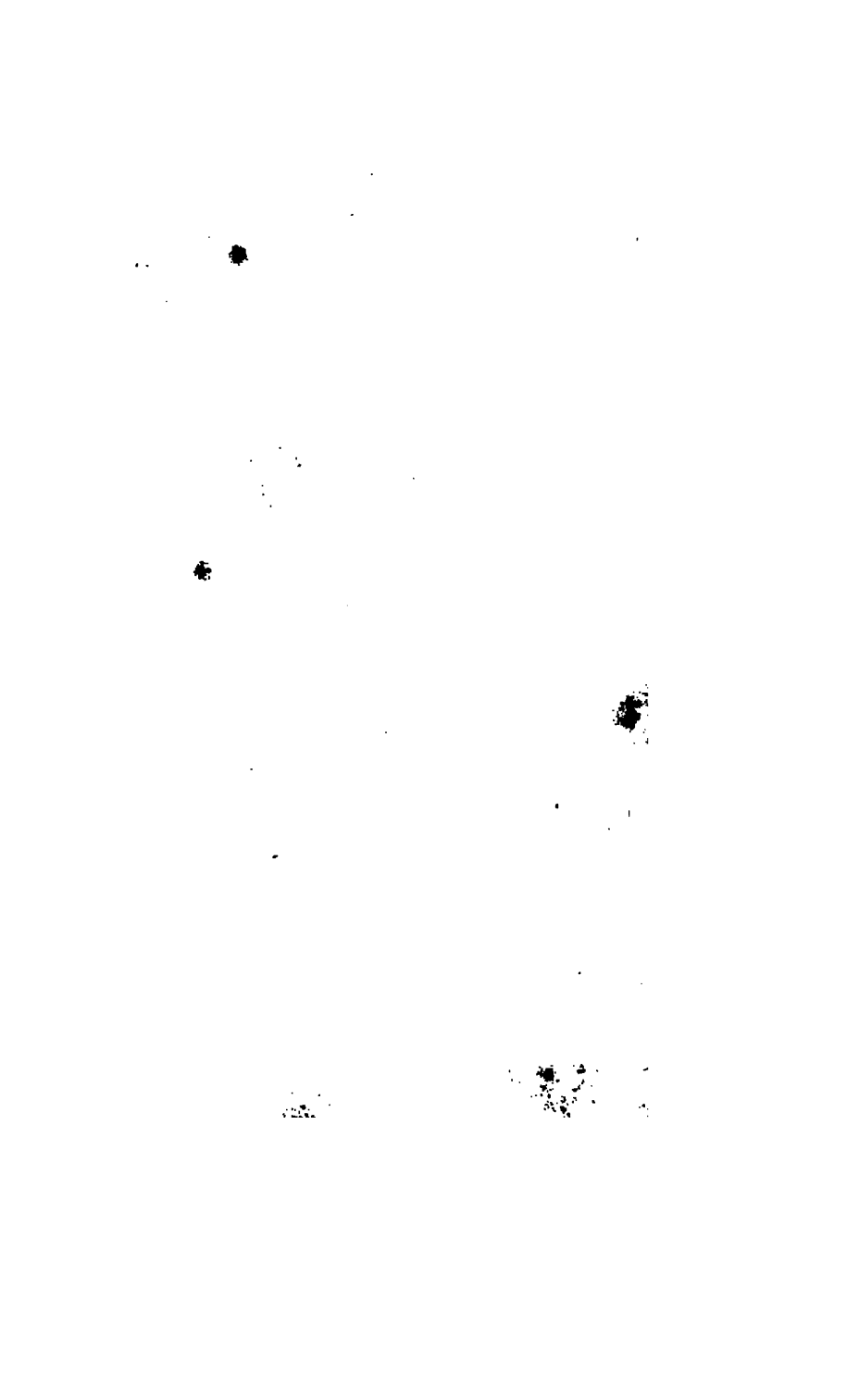
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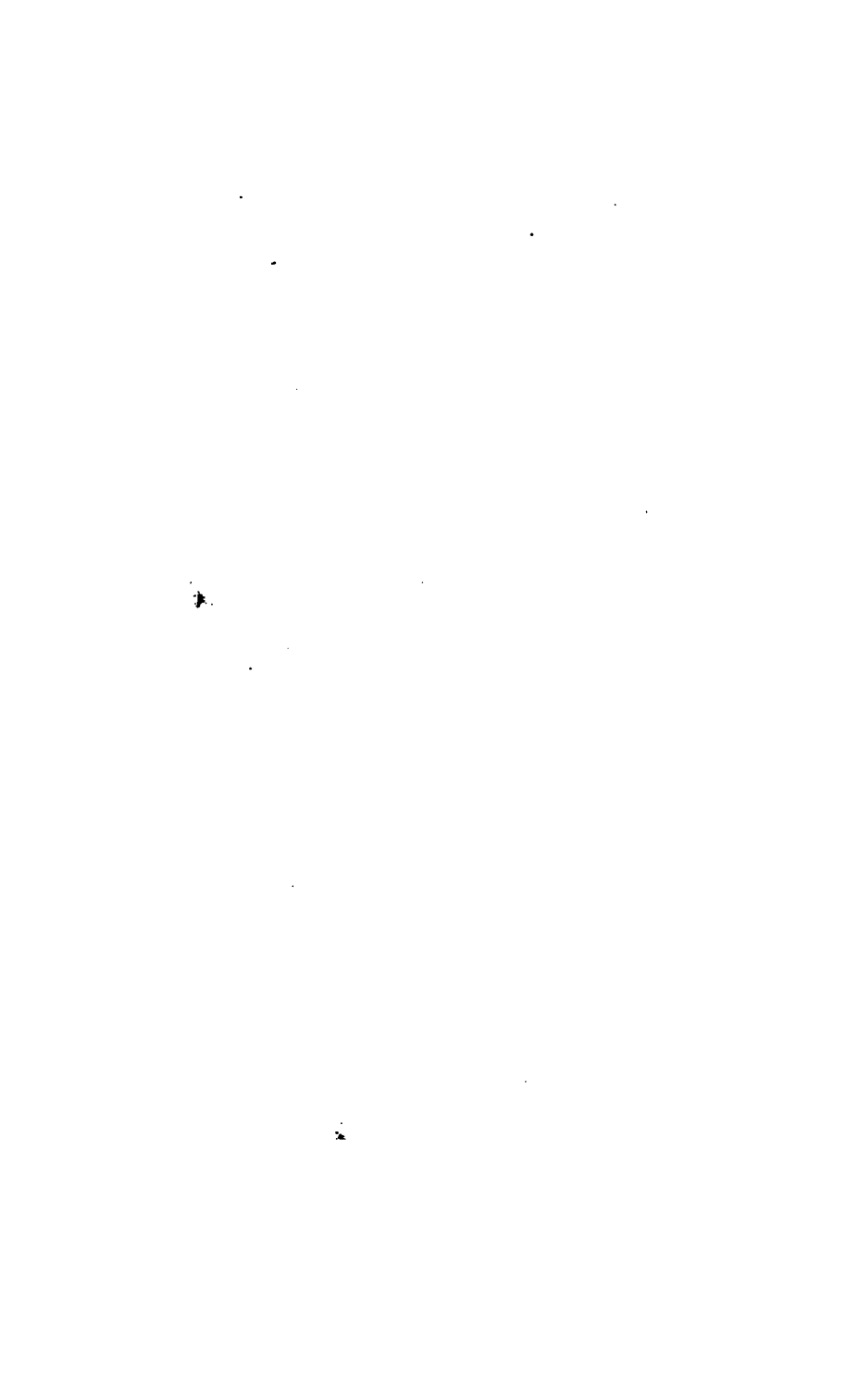
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THE
SACRED HISTORY
OF
THE WORLD,
ATTEMPTED TO BE
PHILOSOPHICALLY CONSIDERED
IN A
SERIES OF LETTERS TO A SON.

BY SHARON TURNER, F.S.A. & R.A.S.L.,
Author of "The History of England," "The History of the Anglo Saxons," &c. &c.

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1835.

PREFACE.

THIS second volume continues the attempt to trace the outlines of the sacred history of the world, as the phenomena of nature and the experience of life unfolds it to us, with such illustrations as the superior sources of our knowledge upon it more certainly supply. The former Letters were principally directed to consider it in the formations and system of the material laws and structure of our globe, and in the various classes of organic and sentient life which appear upon it. The present correspondence carries on the investigation; but is more particularly applied to observe and delineate the divine economy in its more special reference to mankind, and to exhibit the plans, and principles, and purposes, which seem to have been pursued with respect to them, and to the progression of human nature in their successive generations, and therefore in the conduct and history of human affairs, so far as the author has been able to perceive and to describe them.

For this purpose he has selected such topics as he thought would most impressively and satisfactorily display them, and has endeavoured to elucidate his views by such facts and reasonings as have the greatest tendency to explain and support them. His rule throughout has been, to reason always from facts,—to select such of these as were most applicable, and would give the largest and fairest prospect of his various topics, and to draw the correct inferences from them. He has tried to be careful never to press his conclusions beyond the boundary of the deductions which his groundwork warranted;

and to present to his readers, not only what he has himself deemed to be right and proper, but likewise what he has endeavoured to make such, by as much self-guarding caution as he could command and exercise. Feeling that truth alone is valuable on these great subjects, as on every other, he has been anxious to avert from himself, and to avoid, in what he lays before others, whatever was likely to be of an opposite character.

But still the result can but be a series of individual opinions, which can have no authority in themselves, and which ought to have no influence but in proportion as they may be just and rational. They are now submitted to the public eye simply as the personal thoughts and feelings of the writer who has penned them.

His readers must determine for themselves how far what is expressed in these Letters deserves their acceptance or assent. They must be his judges and their own instructors. They will coincide with him where they think him right—they will differ from him when they believe that he is wrong.

This is what ought to take place. It is his earnest wish that nothing which may be found erroneous in his ideas should be adopted by any one.

He therefore invites every one to exercise his own free and cautious deliberation; and with this care, what he has written may assist, instead of misleading them, on those more serious and sacred subjects of their private studies, which the mind, as it becomes enlightened by its intellectual investigations, will always find to be among its most pleasurable and most profitable occupations.

He will only add on this point, that in whatever form of style, and however strongly or positively the opinions of the author may be found to be expressed, it has been in no part his desire or meaning to dictate to any one. But to have used qualifying expressions to every sentiment he wrote, would

have loaded the pages with such perpetual repetitions, that he thought it better to state his ideas in the language which implied his full conviction of their truth, and with the freedom and sincerity which will give them their chief value ; and therefore in the phrases which thus naturally occurred to him ; and to make this general disclaimer of any presumptuous assumption that he only can be right, or that he invariably is so. He therefore begs leave again to say, that he submits his Letters to the reading world as nothing more than his personal convictions, arising from the greatest degree of inquiry and consideration that his means and ability allowed him to exercise, and as the conclusions which have appeared to him to be the truth he has been in quest of. What weight or influence they may obtain beyond himself, will depend upon the spontaneous judgment of those who may favour them with a candid or not hostile perusal.

There were some other topics he should have liked to review. He had purposed to consider the divine system in our laws of life and death ; in the empires which have been raised since the Jewish, which he considered to have a providential character ; in the state and continuance of the uncivilized nations of the world ; in the plans that concern the subsistence of its sentient beings, and our individual participation of it ; in the employments of the human race ; in the establishment of government and laws ; in the state of property and of poverty among mankind ; in the rise and prevalence of the varied ranks and conditions of life ; in the natural and moral evils which we occasionally feel ; in the provisions which have been made for human happiness and individual comfort ; in the rise and partial progress of the arts and manufactures ; and also in the gradual appearance, diversities, and improvements of the literature and knowledge of mankind ; with some consideration of the future destinations to

which, on this present earth, human nature seems to be advancing. All these are continual subjects of the divine government, and form a part of the sacred history of the human world. But the limiting space of the volume checked the desire. This publication could not be conveniently enlarged beyond its present extent. It is therefore respectfully offered, as it is, to the indulgence, and, when necessary, to the forbearance or forgiveness, of all who may permit it to receive their temporary notice.

November 26, 1834.

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THE
SACRED HISTORY
OF
THE WORLD.

PART II.

LETTER I.

The Study of Divine Philosophy recommended, in addition to our Cultivation of the Natural Sciences; and upon the same Plan on which they are pursued—Reasons for thinking that the Difficulties attending it may be gradually surmounted.

MY DEAR SON,

I RESUME my correspondence with you on the SACRED HISTORY OF THE WORLD with more pleasure, from perceiving that there is so much right feeling about it—that the subject has interested many, and that a farther continuation of it has been desired. In a period when the human mind has been deviating into so many divergences of thought and action, that it is difficult to foresee into what state it will ultimately subside, it is gratifying to know that there are some who will not desert the true standards of right judgment and moral good—who can prefer the ancient paths which lead to them, and the sacred objects with which they are associated; and who therefore wish to direct their attention, at their leisure moments, to the great themes that are connected with what they are thus attached to. Several minds of much value are already beginning to contemplate the subject with increasing interest; and important elucidations of it may in time be expected, that will go far beyond any thing which these Letters can effect. But as every

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contribution will be of service, I will proceed to submit mine to your consideration, although I cannot but be aware that the imperfection of the attempt may disappoint the friendly expectations of some whom I should be happy to please. The trains of thought which will be pursued may not be those that they would have preferred : the views exhibited may not coincide with theirs : sentiments may be expressed which they may occasionally hesitate to approve. Such results cannot but be painful to the writer, and yet must be risked, or nothing can be written. No work can be satisfactory alike to all. Our knowledge, our reasonings, and our tastes, differ too much in each of us, for any thing like intellectual uniformity with each other to be an individual characteristic. We may agree in principle, wish, and feeling ; but in the particular applications of these, a variety of inference and judgment always appears.

Diversity of opinion must therefore be anticipated and submitted to, and on no subject of mental inquiry more than on the present ; for the greatness of the theme will of itself preclude the adequate competency in any one to treat fully or fitly of it.

This is obvious to all ; and if I could myself forget such a fact, neither you nor any who may read these pages would omit to perceive it. It is a difficulty which is inseparable from the subject, but yet ought not to be deemed a sufficient reason for abandoning the investigation altogether. The endeavour may be a personal failure ; but the defects exhibited will serve as guides and motive to others to make stronger efforts, and to give their labours a more judicious direction. The promotion of truth and the benefit of mankind ought to supersede and silence every private purpose. Care indeed should be taken to avoid producing evil when we desire to do good, or our philanthropy will be a mischief instead of a benefit. Too many instances of this bad effect have occurred in the last forty years, not to exact great caution and self-mistrust, and very large deliberation, from every one who communicates to society his intellectual meditations. These suggestions are mentioned in order that I may add, that the desire to keep them constantly in recollection shall not be absent, and that I will strive not to act in contradiction to them.

Another reason why they do not deter me from renewing

our inquiries, and for extending them to a larger field, is, that great and arduous as their theme always will be, yet we are only in the same relation to it as we have had with all the more recondite and difficult subjects of human study. Much perseverance and many exertions are necessary, in order to penetrate into what is unknown or obscure; and these must for some time be accompanied even with a certainty of defeat, before the intellect can effectually ascertain what it tries to explore. But every attempt lessens the difficulties for those who may follow, and always induces others to engage in the enterprise. Every effort promotes the advance, clears the path, and directs more exactly the exploring thought.

It was in this way, and by such degrees, that European navigation reached the East Indies, and that European courage and industry discovered the north and south continents of the remote American portion of our globe. By such successive efforts, long unavailing, the grand principles of all our natural sciences have been unfolded;* and the same results must be expected in all endeavours to perceive and elucidate the sacred history of the world. Its paths are too lofty, too vast in their circuit, and too peculiar, to be easily discerned. Inquiries must succeed to inquiries before they can be descried or developed. The present essay aspires to do no more than to invite attention to the subject, amid the other interesting objects of mental curiosity which now press upon the active spirit, and to begin a course of thought and inquiry about it. Several reasons have made me think it important at the present juncture to do so, and this conviction has decided me to lay before you what appears to me to be true, where any certainty can be attained; and what seems most probable, when only conjecture can be resorted to.

Our knowledge of divine things, and our study of them, ought to have a proportionate increase with our acquisitions of natural science. The relation between the Creator

* Astronomy is an instance of this. "Among all the attempts of man to systematize and complete his knowledge, there is one science, astronomy, in which he may be considered to have been successful. He has there attained a general and certain theory." This is justly said. But "for this success, the labour of the most highly-gifted portion of the species, for five thousand years, has been requisite."—Whewell's Address to British Association at Cambridge. Report, 1833, p. xxiii.

and the creation is indestructible. The one will be everlastingly the cause of the other, and that cannot but be the effect of his causation. No changes of mind in ourselves, no lapse of time, no accumulations of human experience, no extension of our mathematical or physiological investigations, can abolish this connexion, or preclude its consequences. As he lives and reigns, so he thinks and acts. He rules what he has made; and all that has been framed by him is continually affected by his existence, his mind, and his government. It is therefore of unceasing importance to us to become as fully acquainted with him as possible, and to learn his will and purposes, his wishes and ordainments, as far and as largely as we can attain to the perception of them.

These acquisitions can be realized only from the sources which he has provided for this purpose to us, and these will always be his works, his ways, and his express communications. The study of these will constitute that branch of human knowledge which we may justly characterize as *DIVINE PHILOSOPHY*—a subject dear to the human mind in all ages, however inefficient the talent may have been to explore or explain it. It was obviously a frequent theme in the meditations and conversations of Socrates.* It was a favourite one with his pupil Plato, and repeatedly gleams out amid the mazes of his colloquial dialectics.

The Pythagoreans, the Stoics, and the new Platonists of Alexandria, discover to us the same desire of examining and discussing it; and it obtained no small portion of Cicero's diversified attention. But all these great men show us the continuity of the will, rather than any success in accomplishing it. They wanted too much farther knowledge, both human and divine, to make any progress in the sublime inquiry. They all, like our Milton, felt its value; but they

* Xenophon has transmitted some of these to us, as well as Plato; and in one passage says of Socrates, "He thought that the gods took care of mankind, and not in the way many suppose, who imagine them to know some things only, and not others; for Socrates believed that they are conscious of all things; those said and done, and those also which are wished in silence; that they are everywhere present, and that they give suggestions to men concerning human affairs."—*Ætop.* l. i. c. 1. On this feeling, he exclaimed to Aristodemus, "O my good friend! consider, that as thy mind within thy body governs it as it chooses, so that understanding which is over us all, disposes of every thing as it pleases."—*Ib.*, c. 4.

had not the means or the opportunities which we possess of more satisfactorily contemplating it.*

It is, then, for us, not to neglect the advantages which we have above them, but, imbibing their spirit, to apply ourselves to do what they were unable to effectuate. Divine philosophy ought now to be studied by us as carefully and as generally as natural philosophy evidently is. Numerous minds are zealously engaged upon this, and are inviting others to imitate their example. Never before has it been so much or so successfully attended to. It is even taking the form of annual festivals and theatrical exhibitions, in order to concentrate and stimulate the public attention to its merits and pursuits. It has begun in this respect a rivalry with our political animations; and the new activity and display seem to be as popular as we will hope the result will be advantageous. At all events, it is an honour to the present age that it is so zealously directing itself to the study and promotion of the natural sciences. They enlarge the mind and intellectualize the life: they raise us above inferior gratifications and pursuits, and are the true materials for forming that divine mind within us which many of the illustrious ancients aspired to, but which cannot be attained until we cultivate the divine philosophy of things in conjunction with the natural. It is this which, to use the words of Dr. Young, will enable us

"To rise in science, as in bliss;
Initiate in the secrets of the skies!
To read creation: read its mighty plan—
The plan and execution to collate!"†

Our poet, indeed, despairing of our making the attainment in this world, notices it as a part of our beatitude in the next; but we need not wholly defer it so long: we may begin it here. The rudiments of it have been delivered to us from the only authority that could present them unerringly to us. It is for us to use rightly the treasures we possess;

* The lines of Milton are familiar to us:

How charming is DIVINE PHILOSOPHY!
Not harsh and crabbed, as dull fools suppose,
But musical, as is Apollo's lute:
And a perpetual feast of nectared sweets,
Where no crude surfeit reigns."

COMUS.

† Night Thoughts, N. 6.

and due contemplations of the natural sciences with these aids, and temperate exercises of the investigating thought, as our mind enlarges, will lead us to some portion of that banquet here, which we shall delight to enjoy more amply hereafter. We may then say with our same poet, who, amid some superfluities that we would prune, pours out many a noble effusion,—

“Lorenzo! these are thoughts that make man, man;
The wise illumine; aggrandize the great.”*

Let us, then, cultivate these elevating inquiries. Let us apply as assiduously as our individual inclinations or opportunities may lead or dispose us to all the branches of natural philosophy: but let a due portion of our care be given to exalt and crown these with divine philosophy; either will be incomplete without the other. Let us study them in friendly conjunction, and we shall find that what is natural, will be enlightened and more endeared to us by its grander companion. What subject can be better fitted to the spirit within us, that awaits those glorious destinies which Plato exhibits his master as delighting to contemplate; and which, lessons and promises that he could never know, have brought within our power personally to secure!†

Night Thoughts. He continues with a fine enthusiasm:

“How great, while yet we tread the kindred clod—
How great, in the wild whirl of time’s pursuits,
To stop and pause, involved in high passage,—
To stand contemplating our distant selves,
As in a magnifying mirror seen,
Enlarged, ennobled, elevate, divine!
To prophesy our own futurities!
To gaze, in thought, on what all thought transcends!
To talk, with fellow-candidates, of joys
As far beyond conception as desert;
Ourselves, th’ astonish’d talkers, and the tale!” NIGHT 6.

† “Is the soul like what is divine, or like what is mortal? What is divine is born to govern, but the mortal substance to obey. Which of these does the soul resemble?”

“O Socrates, it is clear that the soul must be the divine, and the body the mortal element.”

“Yes, Kebes! the soul is most like the divine, the immortal, the intelligent; the one in form, and the incorruptible; and when it goes from hence, it passes to another place, like itself, excellent and pure, though now unseen: to Hades, and, truly, to a good and wise God.” (τον αγαθον και φρονιμον θεον.)

He repeats this idea:

Divine philosophy should be regarded as a science, and be treated as the physical sciences are ; the facts which relate to it should be carefully searched for, and as carefully reasoned upon. We shall then find that it is truly a science, and the most exhilarating of all that we can select to be the subject of our pursuit. It has really all the characters of a science, and will be seen to be so, and will become more visibly such, in proportion as it is studied in this aspect, and in the same mode, and with the same caution, assiduity, and judgment, with which our analytical or chymical investigations are conducted.

We most justly apply the term science to the knowledge we have collected and arranged of those departments of nature, where the phenomena are the result of such a scientific disposition or causation of things as to have a visible relation with each other ; to be governed by some common laws, to be arrangeable under a distinct classification, and to be reducible to rational principles, which are steadily followed in connected and successful operation. Such results are evidence of a contriving and presiding mind, and are what intelligent agency alone could produce. When effects or events occur in consequence of a pre-established plan, and on regulating principles, and in obedience to perceptible laws, evincing certain foresight and adjusting arrangements, they form the subject of a true science ; and this, it will be the object of these Letters to show, is the character of that divine philosophy which they will recommend to you to cultivate. All material nature is moulded by the will, fulfils the designs, and subsists and acts on the plans, of the stupendous Creator. All intellectual nature—all moral beings, are in the same predicament. The one is not more guided or governed than the other. Mind and matter are equally the objects of the divine administration ; and the rules and principles of this, deserve our researches as much in the one as in the other. Indeed, so far as they can be traced, it will be always more interesting to us to discover those which relate personally to ourselves, than such as uphold or

"Will it not, then, go to something like itself; to the Divine? To that which is divine, immortal, and wise! Certainly; and coming to it there, it will exist in happiness, free from error, ignorance, fears, and passions; yes, it will indeed pass the rest of its time with the gods themselves: *μετα θεων διαγῶσα*."—Plato, Phed. c. 21.

regulate the external substances amid which we are residing. Who would not rather know the divine laws by which his life and destiny are governed, than those which determine the masses or the velocities of Jupiter or Uranus, or which compel the comets to revisit us by periodical migrations? Sublime in its own nature, and most honourable to human genius, is the knowledge which has been attained on points, that at one time seemed beyond all the possibilities of human talent to acquire. The eagle-eyed sagacity and patient observations of some have conquered the seeming impossibility which was so long insurmountable, and by their success have encouraged future minds to hope that few things will hereafter be found inaccessible to determined diligence and energetic intellect.* But still that science which is most connected with our individual welfare in this world, and with our endless future in the next, will have an endearing interest to us, of which nothing can divest it. Stars may disappear, or new comets rush upon us, or fresh planets may be discerned to move. But all events of this sort will be ever inconsiderable to us in comparison of the relations which are subsisting between us and God; and the rules and principles by which his moral government of our affairs are directed, and especially in their personal application to each of us respectively. Nothing can exceed the momentous importance of the knowledge of these things to every human being; and the uncertainty in which it may seem to some that they are involved, ought to be but a more impelling reason to excite us to more assiduous endeavours to diminish this obscurity, and to develop their realities as far as it may be permitted to human diligence to do so.

The subject has certainly fallen into discredit from the many wrong interpretations and foolish applications which

* In the Report of the British Association for 1832, Professor Airy mentioned, among the desiderata of astronomy, the determination of the mass of Jupiter by observations of the elongations of her satellites.

"I think it would have astonished the mathematicians of antiquity, as much as the populace, to be told that this splendid planet could ever be weighed and measured by a human being; and yet what Mr. Airy suggested, he has since himself executed in the most complete manner. He has weighed the mass of Jupiter in the way he thus recommended; and it may show the wonderful perfection of such astronomical measures to state, that he has proved with certainty that this mass is more than 322, and less than 323, times the mass of the terrestrial globe on which we stand."—Whewell's Address, p. 14.

weak, though often wellmeaning persons, have at all times been hasty to form and eager to publish. But this is an evil and an abuse to which every thing human is liable. All the arts and sciences have suffered from rash pretenders and injudicious students. Natural philosophy, until lately, has been peculiarly deformed by the dreams and presumption of its professors. The opinions of the ancient philosophers were more often chimeras, that would now disgrace any that were still in their nurseries, than the probable conjectures of reasoning men.* But their errors and follies have not deterred later ages from studying the same subjects. On the contrary, they have but stimulated the mind to form wiser conjectures, and to obtain more certain knowledge. Still many in every generation stumbled on the threshold; but their blunders were both guideposts and incentives to happier efforts; and the reward of the persevering industry of human ability has been, that the general world has become possessed of a rich treasure of certain truth in every science, ennobling our common nature, and daily spreading happiness and benefit among us all.

The same consequences will attend the cultivation of divine philosophy. There have been plenty of mistakes expressed and penned concerning it, and many wrong opinions may yet be uttered: but all such will be soon discarded. Whatever is erroneous, has no substantive vitality: it is perishable by its own nature, and will always be but the ephemeron of its day. It is born but to die: the more speedily, as it is more unfounded. While what is true and good will soon be discovered to be so, and will always survive. We can judge much more easily than we can dis-

* Thus Heraclitus thought the sun was only the breadth of a man's foot, and Epicurus deemed it to be no larger than it appeared to be, or but a little more or less; while Xenophanes taught, that every day's sun is extinguished when it sets, and that a new sun comes up in the morning from the east.—Plut. Plac. Phil. l. ii. c. 21: c. 20.

So the earth was by one philosopher deemed a flat table; by another, like a pillar; by a third, like a drum or tabor; and by a fourth, a dish, hollow in the middle.—Plut. Plac. l. iii. c. 10.

Even the worthy and fair-minded Herodotus, whose work gives us our first solid ground in ancient history and geography, declares, that it was quite laughable, and against common sense, to say that the ocean flows round the earth, or that the earth was globular, or that Asia was as large as Europe.—Melp. l. iv. c. 36.

cover ; and no one can now start an absurdity but it is seen to be so, as soon as it is seen at all. The public mind has attained this improvement, that no defect can escape its criticism, no delusion can long deceive, no vice or folly elude either detection or condemnation. We need not therefore dread anything on this ground from the study of our diviner science.

Increase of knowledge always put our minds into a different state from that which they were in before it accrued. New thoughts and views occur to us as it comes, and change many of our ideas, and influence our future reasoning. It causes us to feel more strongly an ignorance in other matters, and to desire farther information. What satisfied us on the points on which it bears, before we received the addition, no longer has that effect. We feel defects and errors in our opinions which we had not been conscious of, and we break up our attachment to many notions of which we once had no doubt. Hence more knowledge in any one branch of knowable subjects, leads us to seek, and seeking, to acquire, an augmentation on others. It makes this plurality of information necessary to us ; for our minds, if we think at all, will be felt to be full of incongruities and inequalities without it. The parts of our knowledge will be inconsistent with each other. We shall be walking about the world half child and half man, unless we enlarge our information, and rectify our mistaken conceptions. All the divisions of our intellectual treasures must be improved, for us to have a right mind in any, that have reference to each other. And what is there in a world so finely and artificially complicated as both our material and living portions of it are, which has not reciprocal relations ? We cannot avoid silently criticising ourselves full as much as others act the censors to us ; and therefore we shall not feel that we are in the right intellectual state and position, unless we advance our attainments on all the subjects which occupy and actuate our own thoughts and the minds of our contemporaries, whenever we have the opportunity, as well as on any single one that we may have selected or prefer.

To no topics of human meditation do these remarks apply more, than to those which we would class among the divine ones ; to all that is connected with the Deity and his revela-

tions ; and to the interest which we may have in them ; the present as well as the eventual one.*

It is singular, but it is true, that increased science has almost always at first assumed an attitude of hostility towards these. This effect is not explainable on any principle of common sense or sound judgment. But however adverse to these, still it has repeatedly appeared, and is very operative in many individual cases at this moment. We may, without any abusive meaning, attach the epithet of irrational to it ; because as the adorable Deity is the fountain of all good and happiness, the maker, provider, and giver, of all our comforts, and whose omnipotence invests him with an unbounded power of perpetually and indefinitely increasing his general bounty, and of enlarging our personal participation of it ; it is extraordinary, it is unaccountable, that the mind should feel, under any circumstances, an indisposition towards him, or any unwillingness to appreciate and contemplate his revelations to us, or any thing that has the smallest probable pretension to be so. In this respect our feelings seem far less judicious than those of the less enlightened ancients ; they, the greatest and the wisest of the Grecian world, flew with eagerness to their oracles, as the only chance of hearing the divine will and ordainments ;† as those of the Roman state made auguries from the flights of birds their most venerated science, because they were taught that by these their deity indicated his wishes and intentions.‡ Any avenue to know the will of God was pre-

* Many of the ancients, notwithstanding their paganism, took a pleasure in thinking of divine subjects. Diogenes is an instance of this ; of whom Plutarch remarks :—

“ I approve of the saying of Diogenes, who, seeing in Lacedæmon a stranger adorned for a feast, very solicitously said to him, ‘ Does not a good man think every day a feast, and will it not be altogether a splendid one to us if we are wise ? ’ ” His additional meaning Plutarch thus illustrates or expresses : “ For this world indeed is a most holy temple, and highly worthy of God. Into this a man enters at his birth, not to gaze at motionless statues, or things made with hands, but to contemplate those objects which the divine mind itself has made sensible to our understanding.”—Plut. de Tranq. v. ii. p. 848.

† Cicero asks, “ What colony has Greece sent into Etolia, or Ionia, Asia, Sicily, or Italy, without a reference to the Pythian, the Dodonean, or the Ammon oracle ? What war did she ever undertake without first consulting her gods ? ”—Cic. Div. I. i. c. 1.

‡ “ Romulus, the parent of our city, founded it by auspices, and was himself an optimus augur. All the after kings used augury, and when

cious above all things to them, however absurd were the means by which they supposed it was communicated.* This was the impulse of nature, not opposed by their reason. They were right and wise in their principle of seeking to make their actions conformable to the will of heaven, and of not going contrary to it; but, from ignorance and perverting superstitions, they took the wrong paths, selected wrong objects, and made what was nonsense and accident their channels and instructors. That we should recoil from their silly means, and seek more certain sources of the divine knowledge which the human heart so pants for, and apply it more judiciously, would be quite natural now, indeed is inevitable, under our soul-expanding sciences. But that we should let our improvements set our minds in battle-array against what is superior to them all, and throw away from us all the sacred materials for knowing what is so invaluable to every one, is a fractious mystery of the human spirit, which it is difficult to understand.

One reason perhaps for this conduct is, that while we cultivate our national philosophy so intensely, we leave in total neglect its most illuminating companion, divine philosophy.

We look at visible nature, and study that, as if there were nothing else in existence.

We know nothing therefore of the one, while we are multiplying unceasingly every other acquisition. Hence it becomes insulated from all our other knowledge and power, and withers away from a considerable part of our social mind, because we will not cultivate it.

Thus our ideas and views on this remain unallied with all our other attainments, and do not grow up with them in fra-

they were expelled, nothing in public affairs, or in private households, or in war, was done without it."—Cic. Div. l. i. c. 1. Plutarch makes his advocates for the superiority of land animals say, "A great and very ancient part of divination is by augury from birds; for they are so swift, and so intelligent, and so pliable in their moveability to every imagination or thought, that they seem like instruments fit to be used by God, and to be turned as he pleases. Therefore now by their motions, and at other times by their voices and warblings and other gestures, he actuates them as he thinks proper, and uses them to promote some purposes of mankind, and to repress others."—Plut. Uter. Anim. v. iii. p. 1794.

* Hence Cicero calls divination "a magnificent and salutary science, if any thing be such. It is that by which mortal nature may come nearest to the divine power. I know of no nation, however civilized and learned, or fierce and barbarous, which does not think that future things may be signified and predicted to us."—Cic. Divin. l. i. c. 1.

ternal unity, and mutually befriending and supporting attachment; and yet this result is evidence, that the more our science increases, the more a farther knowledge of our God, and a more enlarged study of the principles and purposes in his ways and works, become indispensable, if they are to possess their due portion of human notice and belief.

It is the present tendency of the mind to search into the principles and causes of every thing; to inquire into the reasons, to examine the utilities, and to watch and estimate the propriety of the means employed, their working and their results. What it does in all other things, it also is doing with the creations of its God, with his providence, and with his revelations, and will continue to do so: This we may be sure of. The more our scientific researches enlarge, and the greater number of individual minds become active, the more this inquisitorial industry will spread and become influential, both on our thoughts and conduct. This certainty makes it unadvisable to rest in ignorance or indifference about any point on which beneficial ideas or information may yet be elicited. We must, if we wish to keep unimpaired, or on its due footing, what we most value, work out the farther knowledge which we need. We must think, and explore, and reason, and study, until we can enlarge our perceptions of the philosophy of the divine creation and divine providence, into some nearer proportion to our other certainties and investigations. The more we can show that the principles and laws on which he conducts and governs human affairs are in harmony with those which substantial nature indicates in all its movements and operations, the more we shall dignify the general intellect, and multiply individual happiness; for this will ever be the central point of both,—the sun around which all human existence must ever revolve, and from which it will always derive its truest light and joy. We have the outline of these principles and laws suggested to us, in his own explanations of his conduct towards other nations, which his recorded communications display. On these we must think and reason, until we can put our thoughts and views into that lucid order, that enlightening arrangement, which will lead us to the truth we sigh for. He desires us to know him truly. The whole history of antiquity, and of all modern pagan nations, shows that any other than the correct knowledge of him only fills the mind

with the absurdest phantasms, and the most degrading depravities. Any other ideas of him than what are just, nullify or falsify him to us. They depose the real God, and place before us and within us a fantastic idol, or a moral deformity, instead. This experienced evil makes the sacred writings so important a portion of our intellectual library; in these he is portrayed as he exists and acts, and for this reason they have a value which nothing else possesses. It is a pity that so many able men, clever and informed in other respects, should throw these aside as unworthy their regard, because they find some things at variance with their preconceived ideas. But just so, the strongest minded men of antiquity would have thrown aside our systems of chymistry, geology, and astronomy, because their knowledge and believed opinions would have been irreconcilable with them.

For it is not because an opinion is true, that others will therefore adopt it. It must at the same time be congruous with our other impressions, and admit of being dovetailed into them, or it will be rejected; for it is judged of by its conformity to the previous acquisitions, and is disliked and condemned if incompatible with them. We see this fact remarkably illustrated in the opinions of Philolaus on the system of the world. He believed, what Copernicus has led our latter ages to establish as a certainty, that the sun is in the centre of the planets, and that they, with the earth, revolve round this luminary; a fragment of primeval tradition which had descended somehow into the Pythagorean school.* But because this was the natural truth, did Aristotle therefore adopt it, and the rest of the philosophers of Greece, or any of its subsequent mathematicians? Scarcely any. Aristotle only cites it, in order to attack it. It opposed his other prepossessions, and therefore he condemned it as un-

* Aristotle, in his discussion on the true place of the earth, which he thought was at rest in the centre of the universe, remarks,—“But those who live in Italy, called Pythagoreans, assert the contrary; for they place the solar fire in the middle, and call the earth one of the planets, and say that it is carried in a circle round this centre, and makes its own day and night.”—*Arist. de Cælo*, l. ii, c. 13. Plotarch mentions Philolaus as the Pythagorean who taught this.—*Plut. Phil.* l. iii. c. 11. Diogenes Laert. intimates that he was the first who asserted it; l. viii. s. 85; though he also notices Nicetas, a Syracusan, as of the same opinion; to whom Theophrastus also assigned it.—*Cicero, Lucullus*, p. 95.

founded. The greatest astronomers of the Alexandrian school equally discredited it.*

Did these just notions carry the mind of Philolaus himself to the other truths that were connected closely with them? Not at all. He thought and reasoned as wildly beyond the few realities he had imbibed, as if his whole mind had been one labyrinth of mistake.† A Numa, indeed, adopted the opinion, and regulated the temple and rites of his Vesta, his goddess of sacred fire, according to it.‡ But even this patronage did not make the truth popular, either to the vulgar or to the learned. The error was preferred to the reality, until centuries of more knowledge disposed the human mind to accredit it.

Hence it is our wisdom and our duty to be always self-mistrusting; never to make our individual opinions the standard of what is true or false; never to avert our eyes from what is better, because we dislike it; and reverentially to refrain from disregarding the sacred light that has been provided for us, because it is at first inconvenient or disturbing to us, or may bring with it some images or prospects that do not harmonize with our expectations or existing preposses-

* Aristarchus, the Samian, is mentioned by Archimedes as stating the sun and the stars, not planetary, to be immoveable, and the earth to be carried round the sun in the circumference of a circle.—*Psam.* p. 449. Plutarch also ascribes the opinion to him; *de Fac. Lun.* But neither Hipparchus, nor Eratosthenes, nor Posidonius, nor the later Ptolemy, adopted it. It remained a discountenanced truth till Cardinal Cusa pressed it on the notice of his contemporaries in the fifteenth century; after which Copernicus happily espoused it. You will find Cusa's work quoted in my *Modern Hist. Engl.* v. iii. p. 10.

† Philolaus thought that our earth consisted of two separate earths, one the antipodes to the other. "He placed the fiery body in the centre, as the Vesta, or focal hearth of the world, and in the second place the earth of the antipodes. The third station he gave to the earth which we inhabit. This he said was opposite to the antipode one, and turned round it, which was the cause why we could not see its inhabitants."—*Plut. Phil.* l. iii. c. 11. He also imputed that the water of the moon was thrown out of it by the circumvolution of the air, and by the exhalation of this the world was nourished.—*Plut. Phil.* l. ii. c. 5. He had several other strange fancies. His master, Pythagoras, taught likewise various things, which prove that he was either a great impostor or a very self-deluded man.

‡ We learn this fact from Plutarch: "It is said that Numa made his temple to Vesta circular, for the sacred fire to be kept unextinguished, intimating thereby the *σφαῖρα* of the whole world, in whose centre the Pythagoreans thought fire to be situate. For they do not believe the earth to be immoveable or in the middle of the circumferent space, but to be carried as in a circle round the fire."—*Plut. Vit. Numa.*

sions. Let us then fix our determination to give a due portion of our leisure time to the study of the divine philosophy.* Let us keep our mind in a candid and impartial state while we are pursuing it ; and let us draw our principles of it from those venerated writings, which were composed and have been preserved to convey this knowledge to the human race, wherever the introduction of Christianity should carry these in its train, and present them to the contemplation of the inquiring and grateful intellect. For grateful it must be, if it does but perceive what a Cimmerian darkness of mind we should have been in on these momentous subjects, and on all the others which they have improved, if they had never been written or circulated. We should have been what the Gothic and Sarmatian pagans would have made us, if these conquering invaders had not been Christianized. Can I then but be grateful for having been preserved, by what I am recommending, from being what I otherwise should have been, a savage worshipper and imitator of Thor and Odin, or of some other bloody and barbarous monstrosities of the same character and operation ?

* It is interesting to see how prone the intelligent mind in all nations appears to be to muse upon the Deity. An instance of this occurs in the autobiography of Nana Farnewis, a Mahratta nobleman and minister, born 1742, and who was in the battle of Paniput in 1761. Though attached to his Hindoo paganism, and injuriously affected by it, yet he could think and write thus :—"Let me consider what is the semblance of the face of God. It is the emblem of truth ; full of animation, and resplendent with its own effulgence. God passes his existence in watchfulness, in sleep, and in contemplation. His watchfulness is apparent throughout all nature ; his contemplation is displayed in the light of day ; his sleep is typified in the stillness of night. He to whom we attribute these qualities is the ONLY ONE ; THE SPIRIT."

"It is he who, in the plenitude of his power, displays himself in every thing. He is everywhere present at the same moment ; moving without feet, seeing without eyes, touching without hands, hearing without ears ; pervading all space. If it be asked, from what we conclude that the Great Spirit pervades all space, and is a sole and single spirit ? I reply, We derive this knowledge from the conviction of our reason, and from an innate consciousness arising out of sympathy."--Trans. Roy. As. Soc. v. ii. p. 96. No Greek or Roman philosopher has surpassed, and few equalled, these ideas. Yet he was unable to act consistently with them, for he was a zealous worshipper of Vishnu and Krishna. His mind felt that there was something better than these, but had not, like ours, been associated with what is so.

LETTER II.

Nature distinguished into the Visible and the Invisible—Sacred History's Connexion with the Latter—Man, as the Superior Being upon Earth, has a Sacred History attached to his Existence, in which nothing else participates—all Nature is a Special Creation with specific ends in view—Man peculiarly so—the Sacred History is founded on these—Erroneous ideas of the Ancients on the Origin of Man and Nature of Things, and of the Deity.

MY DEAR SYDNEY,

Of the divine philosophy, which I have been recommending to you, the sacred history of the world will be the most important subject ; and of this, the principal compartment, or at least that which cannot but be paramount to us, is the sacred history of man. For, although this earth has not been devised or made for him alone, yet it has been manifestly formed with great and continual reference to him ; and he is, beyond dispute, the pre-eminent being upon it, at least, of all that wears a visible shape, and by that, has become cognizable by us. Our eyesight, indeed, cannot be taken at any time as an absolute criterion of the existing. The apparent rising, semicircular journey, and evening departure of the sun, are a daily testimony to our judgment, that our vision alone is not the certain teacher of the true. Nature is always indicating this circumstance to us, that we may not be led to call her invisibilities into question.

We never see the warmth that delights us so often in a vernal day, when the cloud conceals from us "day's garish eye ;" nor the cold which freezes us, although he is shining as gayly on his winter throne. Thus the perception of the visible never authorizes us to confine every thing to it, nor to deny the existence of what is otherwise.

Some have from singularity chosen to limit the knowable by the visible ; but this would be only wilfully consigning ourselves to ignorance of some of the grandest realities of existing things ; and whenever this feeling operates, it is the weakness, not the strength of the individual mind, that leads any one to indulge it.

Nature consists of both these descriptions of beings ; of the

unseen as well as of the seen ; of that which is perceptible by our senses, and of that by which they are not affected. Nothing exists because we are conscious of it, nor depends upon our acquaintance with it, nor ceases to be or never has been, because it has not become a subject of our sensorial excitations.

Invisibility is as much a character and state of creation as visibility and tangibility likewise are. Many things exist which we cannot touch, as well as others which we cannot see. Matter is in some of its forms as invisible to us as spirit, and even often imperceptible in its tenuity by any of our senses. But to be attenuated is no more non-existence than to be unseen. It therefore resembles a childish error to disbelieve what we cannot see, or to suppose that nothing exists but what our eyes can behold. This seems so obvious, that it is almost chimerical to allude to it ; and yet I have known that it has been recommended, and very earnestly, in France, to educate from infancy on this principle ; a strange condemnation of the young, ingenuous mind, which naturally loves truth, and all truth, and would willingly cherish it in all its shapes, to be narrow and contracted, and imperfect both in its knowledge and its judgment.

The visibility of which we are conscious is no natural quality of any thing, for all things naturally are invisible to each other. It is an artificial effect produced on our frame, and in that of all the animated classes, by the wonderful laws assigned to the luminous fluid, and by the as wonderful construction and adaptation of the optical organ. Nothing is visible where no light thus acts, nor to what has no nervous matter in its frame. Nothing is visible to the living principle in plants, any more than to the limestone, to the diamond, or to the dewdrop, although in the two latter a marvellous agency of the matter of light so brilliantly operates. But it is a part of our Creator's plan of his animal kingdom, that we and our fellow brutes should have that knowledge of external things which arises from the impressions that constitute sight ; and he has therefore contrived and placed within us a most delicate and complicated organization, by which outward substances should be caused to become objects of our consciousness.

Visibility is therefore merely that artificial result of these admirable and benevolent provisions as to light and our material eyes, and the association of our mental principle with

them, which makes this to have such a sensation from external things, and to form the perceptions from them, which become our sight and the knowledge we derive from it. No visibility can therefore extend beyond the extent of these special provisions. Our Creator has extended them to every thing which he designs us to be thus acquainted with in our present age and world; but he has not carried our power of seeing farther. It is our deficiency, and not our merit, that we cannot see what is smaller or finer, or more distant than that which so affects us, or which, from being immaterial, never can so act upon us.

But nature is always warning us not to commit the mistake of disbelieving, because we cannot see. Her largest expansion of material substance, though everywhere enveloping us, the air, which ascends so loftily above us, and presses so densely upon us, yet is always invisible to us.* The wind, which tosses up like a football the ponderous masses of the ocean, and breaks down the mightiest trees, cannot be seen, however dreadfully its moving force is felt. All the component elements and primary combinations of the most solid substances are in the same predicament. Thus, the invisibilities of nature are an essential and universal portion of it; and it will be always unphilosophical to make our sight the sole judge or standard for our belief as to external things.

At the head of all the invisible existences that we know of is the gracious Deity himself, from whom they proceed, and whom they in this respect resemble. He is the eternal being, who is perceived by the intelligent essences which surround his immediate throne, according to the laws of their nature, but whom "no man hath seen or can see." His government, his providence, and his influences, must be as invisible as himself. The sacred history of his worlds is the history of his operations among them, and, like himself, can never be an object of human sight. We must trace it in our own by our reasoning, and by its effects: and in these, his divine agency, wisdom, and power will be, as the fine

* "Its pressure or weight on all parts of the earth is fifteen pounds to one square inch. The greater portion of the atmosphere is always within fifteen or twenty miles of the earth's surface, though it has been inferred to extend to forty or forty-five miles in height."—Dr. Prout's *Bridg. Treatise*, p. 188, 9.

chorus of Haydn, in its rich and sweet harmonies, proclaims them to be in the material creation,

"Never unperceived;
Ever understood;"

if we will apply our minds as steadily to discern them in the one case as in the other.*

But for all the unseen realities in our earth beyond his omnipresence and directing providence and agencies, it will be proper to require rational evidence correspondent to its importance. We must not create in the imagination, what does not exist in nature. The habit of this fallacy produced most of the ancient superstitions. Conjecture must be subordinate to fact in all earthly things, and never be indulged beyond the legitimate deductions from it. Hence, though our Milton's grand conception pleases the fancy, and may be as true as the absence of what it intimates,† yet we have not become conscious of any phenomena which entitle the supposition to become a subject of our decided belief. What Shakspeare has made his Hamlet express with such acute good sense and graceful ease, may be admitted by the most cautious reasoner in its undefined generality:

"There are more things in heaven and earth
Than are dreamt of in your philosophy,
Horatio!"

But with an impression of this sort we must rest satisfied. The sentiment of the prince is an intellectual truth, which, in all our investigations of nature, should never be forgotten. Our sensorial knowledge is the groundwork and the material of all our science and certainties; but never should be mistaken by us to be the whole of what is subsisting, or the standard of what is true.

* The apostle impressed this fact on the attention of his Roman friends: "The invisible things of Him, even his eternal power and godhead, are, from the creation of the world, clearly seen; being understood by the things that are made."—Rom. c. i. v. 20

Milton cherished the same thought:—

"To us invisible! or dimly seen
In these Thy lowest works. Yet these declare
Thy goodness, beyond thought; and power divine."

Par. Lost, book v.

Millions of spiritual creatures walk the earth
Unseen; both when we wake and when we sleep."

Id. book iv.

With this view of nature let us proceed with our inquiry, recollecting that in this, as in all natural philosophy, the unknown, which is actually in existence, though yet undiscernible by us, will for a long time far exceed what human sagacity has succeeded in making the common property of all. The greatest minds feel this, but are not therefore discouraged from trying to enlarge the general stock.*

In the same spirit, though with inferior ability, we will endeavour so to combine fact and reasoning as to make some parts of our sacred history more intelligible to us than it has been by many allowed to be; and as both of us think that what is true, or what seems most likely to be so, is alone deserving of our notice, all mere speculation or conjectural theories should be carefully avoided.

It is no self-flattery to consider man as the paramount being on our globe, for we can compare him, both in form and actions, with all the brute animals that we know of; and the more minutely we do so, the more we perceive his established and intended superiority. He is the monarch of the earth, although he is not its sole possessor; and from the natural relation and sympathy which always exist between intellect and intellect in proportion to its excellence, we may, without presumption, not unreasonably infer that his transcending mind has been the most interesting as it is the most favoured production of his intelligent Creator. Nothing else on earth has received such a magnificent gift as the human spirit; and the humblest and the poorest may be

* The last sentence uttered by the distinguished La Place was, "What we know, is little; what we are ignorant of, is immense."—Powell's *Hist. Nat. Phil.* p. 378. This was only a more brief expression of the same sentiment, which Sir Isaac Newton, a short time before his death, as if with a kindred feeling, thus mentioned: "I do not know what I may appear to the world; but to myself I seem to have been only like a boy playing on the seashore, and diverting myself in now and then finding a smoother pebble or a prettier shell than ordinary, while the vast ocean of truth lay still undiscovered before me."—Dr. Brewster's *Life of Sir Isaac Newton*, p. 338; Powell, 359. Few great minds estimate highly their own achievements: these are too natural to them to be felt to be extraordinary. Newton's remark showed both the largeness and the correctness of his own genius. Though he had far exceeded his fellows, yet he perceived that, compared with the infinitudes of nature which had not been explored or even approached, his discoveries were no larger a part of the boundless universe, than the shellfish is of the seas which roll over him. Indeed, it is only later investigations which have ascertained how far beyond our planets his system seems to be justly applicable.

gratefully proud of a donation so distinguishing. This entitles us to think that it is chiefly with reference to the existence of the human race, to their moral and intellectual formation, to their present enjoyment of life, and to their future destinies after it, that this planet has been contrived and framed. Mankind are connected with every kind of substance upon it. They use whatever they can make useful to them. All things not aerial, become subject to their disposal and government wherever they spread. Nothing can resist long their persevering diligence and ingenuity; and though we need not imitate the flight of Lord Bacon's sanguine hope, and believe that man may in time command the winds, yet we find him exerting such a surprising management as to these, as to make even the most opposing contribute to advance his course, to the astonishment of those rude minds which are but little acquainted with the attainments and ingenuity of the cultivated capacity.* Fire, heat, and vapour, the human genius has fully subdued to be its servants and allies; and wondrously, even to our enlightened day, is their steam application. It can, in some measure, avert and guide the lightning, and drain off the inundation, and compel the sea to respect its controlling bulwarks. We have seen our adventuring contemporaries make the lighter gases lift them up into the regions above the eagle's flight, and carry them safely beyond the clouds and snow. Scientific artisans, by the magnifying improvements of their optical instruments, can cause even the planets to appear to us as they would do if we were 800 or 1000 times nearer to them than we really are.† These wonders have been ef-

* The natural conception of an uncivilized mind of the impossibility of a vessel making way against the wind, and its astonishment at seeing the difficulty overcome by European ingenuity, were exhibited by one of the negroes of Delagoa Bay, whom they named English Bill, who was in the boat that sailed out to return to Captain Owen's ship when the wind was against them. "The natives had no idea of a vessel under sail reaching an object directly in the wind's eye; and when English Bill saw Lieut. Vidal making a tack in the opposite direction, apparently getting only farther from it, he said that he would go to sleep, as they would not catch the ship that night. The operation of changing the tack roused him from his doze; and, as he lifted himself up, he was quite astonished to find the ship not far off. He hung down his head, ashamed of his native ignorance, and exclaimed, "White man, Englishman, know ebry ting; Delagoa man know nutting. He great fool."—Owen's Voyage, v. i. p. 149.

† The gigantic telescope on Fraunhofer's principle, has been com-

fectured by a fragment only of the human population—by some branches of the Christian portion of it, and almost within the last hundred or hundred and fifty years; and such progress is making by our philosophers in their investigations into the nature and laws of light, electricity, and magnetism, that even these ethereal elements may, before another century passes, be as much under the power of man, and as subservient to his conveniences, as fire and steam already are.* But the human race is the only order of living creatures on the earth that can perform these achievements, or even understand them, or that ever rise in thought to their Creator, or are able to discern and adore him. Hence, although we are outnumbered a myriad or a million of times by the uncomputable quantity of other animated and organized bodies, cotenants with us here in our common world, none can compete with us in the probability that this earthly planet has been made principally on our account, and not on theirs. None of these have any pretensions to be the subjects of a sacred history beyond that of their original creation, in its design and execution, and in their continued reproduction. The very bounded and instinctive uniformity of their habits and actions in all the successions of their several species, may be considered to indicate that no system at present ascertainable by us, has been pursued as to them, beyond that of their subsistence while they live, and of their being replaced, when they die, by an offspring like themselves. But with man we can perceive that it has been quite otherwise.

A very complicated and diversified plan has been adopted and acted upon through his series of generations; and the great purpose of these farther Letters will be to attempt, though with great caution and unaffected self-mistrust, to

pleted this year (1833) at M. Schneider's manufactory, at Munich. It has a focal distance of 15 feet, with an aperture of $10\frac{1}{2}$ inches. It exceeds Fraunhofer's celebrated Dorpat telescope in the ratio of 21 to 18 as to the clearness and distinctness of the heavenly body, and of 136 to 100 as to the intensity of the light. It magnifies above 1000 times, and causes Saturn to appear as he would if 816 times nearer, and the moon as if it were but 68 geographical miles from us.—Nuremberg Correspondenten, 1833.

* Professor Powell, in his excellent History of Natural Philosophy—the best in so small a compass—has justly stated, that “a vast range of science, *wholly of modern creation*, has arisen in tracing the relations of light, heat, magnetism, electricity, and galvanism.”—P. 387.

trace and describe as much of it as our insufficiencies will allow us to understand.*

The Letters comprised in our former volume were written on the principle that our earth and its inhabitants were the CREATION of the DEITY.

Independent of the authority on which this main fact is founded, it was reasoned, that our globe and its contents cannot have been eternal, because they are all compounded things; and no compound can have been eternal. All compounded things must have been preceded by the separate state of their component elements, before these became combined into the cohering aggregations in which we behold them.† The science displayed in nature is evidence, that every part which exhibits it has been scientifically constructed, and therefore by a scientific or intelligent Creator. A scientific construction is an arrangement of elements and their compounds into forms and combinations which previous thought and choosing will, for specific ends, had designed and determined on, and which their selected peculiarities, thus adjusted, accomplish. Science, in all the marks and indications of it, is the strongest demonstration we can have of the presence and action of intelligent mind in the formation of what presents it to our notice.‡

* Yet as I contemplate the vast multitudes of animated beings in their various classes and graduated magnitudes, and especially the little world of animalcules, and perceive that the innumerable quantities of these, though imperceptible to the unassisted eye, are as artificially and curiously framed, with as varied and complicated structures, as the largest animals, I cannot but feel that there are most probably distinct purposes and plans as to them in the great economy of creation, which we have not yet attained to perceive. They seem to belong to a system appropriated to themselves, which is different from that by which we are regulated. It will be a subject always worth thinking upon. It is right that the exact sciences and the visible phenomena which we can ascertain should be our first studies, and be as extensively acquired as possible. But it will be a healthful exercise to the mind to ascend at times from the mere material facts and laws which we know, to those superior meditations on the divine philosophy connected with them, which will lead us to trace in all things the system and meaning of our intelligent Creator, who has made nothing without design and purpose, and always for ends correspondent with the wisdom and benevolence which characterize his nature.

† Sacred Hist. vol. I. p. 11. 5th ed.

‡ It was with this feeling that the ancient philosopher, on landing on an unknown coast, which he feared might only have wild beasts or savages for its inhabitants, exclaimed, as he saw the tracing of some

Science like this is the intellectual character of our terrestrial habitation. As far as chymistry and natural philosophy can carry their researches, they find all things on our earth resolvable into simpler conditions, and ultimately into primary atoms or molecules, of which every visible substance is composed.* Even those things which, from the sameness of their apparent matter, and from their not having been decomposed, are at present called simple substances, to distinguish them from what have been analyzed farther, are still but combinations of numerous adhering particles, whether of the same specific kind or not.†

Nature has always met the mortal eye in this compounded state, because its structure was completed before human existence began; and the elementary molecules can nowhere now be found in their primary or single state; nor can our art simplify any thing into this primeval form. Everywhere we see matter in artificial compositions, and it recedes from our sight and touch before we can divide it into its earliest particles. But as these original atoms could not move themselves into those myriads and millions of definite organizations and limited figures, sublime masses and beautiful forms, which constitute our world, no deduction seems more just and certain, than that we and all the external things around us, have been framed by a Creator of adequate mind and power, who has exerted his thought, and imagination, and will, to design what he resolved to form and to execute by his omnipotence, whatever he had thus planned and determined to produce. To such a Being our reason, from our experience as to its own operation in ourselves, ascribes also purposes and ends in all that he fabricates; because we, in our inferior mind, can make nothing without them. Our views will vary according to the state and qualities of our intellect. The more weak and foolish we are, the more

geometrical figures on the sand, "Courage! my companions! here are the footsteps of men."

* "All, or almost all, the substances found upon the globe of the earth, have been subjected to chymical investigation. The result has been, that all the animal and vegetable substances without exception, and by far the greatest number of mineral bodies, ARE COMPOUNDS."—Dr. Thomson's *Inorganic Chymistry*, v. 1. p. 2.

† "The opinion at present entertained by chymists in general is, that simple substances are aggregates of very minute particles, incapable of farther diminution, and therefore called atoms."—Dr. Thomson, *ib.* p. 3.

what we do will be marked by these qualities ; but we shall always have some intended object to effect, even in our greatest absurdities.

Mind always means. It cannot act without meaning, and its meaning will correspond with its state and nature. On these grounds we may safely infer, that the Deity has had purposes and ends in view in all that he has made, and always will have such in whatever he does or regulates : and that these will always be congenial and consistent with the properties and perfections of his nature, and cannot be otherwise.

Thus science, reasoning, and revelation, unite to assure us of this grand truth, which must be the basis of all the views and observations that will form our present correspondence, as it was of our former one. What is true of the whole universe is equally so of our separate globe ; and in this, peculiarly so of our human race, as the most prominent of its contents. We may regard ourselves as His specific workmanship, previously designed, most skilfully composed, and ever since most carefully attended to. It is a self-degradation of our own choice, if we will suppose, against all probability, that we are but links of an eternal chain of sequences, without beginning or end, and devoid of a Creator ; or that in such a destitution, and in contradiction to visible fact, we are but the casual accidents or capricious assemblages of promiscuously moving atoms from a godless chaos. Our knowledge and our better feelings, which claim a source like themselves, should rescue us from these depreciating conjectures. We have had a more intellectual origination, and need not sink ourselves from it.

The true opinion, therefore, as to that human nature which in its system, course, and operations, will be the subject of our succeeding contemplations, will be, that it has been a special design of the ETERNAL MIND, who, in such a period of his perpetual existence as he thought fit, was pleased to determine upon the fabrication of such a world as our earth exhibits itself to be—upon furnishing it with such living plants and animals as we lately reviewed—and upon forming on it successive generations of such intellectual creatures as mankind, with such persons, qualities, and powers, as have always distinguished our race. He accomplished his noble purpose by our creation ; and he has since caused his same

favoured creatures to undergo such variations and improvements, as human history and biography have delineated, and as are continuing daily to appear. These have been always occurring under his knowledge and continued existence, and therefore under his superintendence, and with his unceasing privity.

From his own nature he must be as conscious of human affairs, as he is of any and every other world that he has framed. It is not likely that he, who has taken such minute pains in the creation of all that we are related to here, should be indifferent or disdainful to us.

The nature of our world in all its compartments is a testimony, that we have fully shared his profoundest and kindest deliberations; and is a pledge, that what he has so curiously and so benevolently planned and framed, will never be unnoticed or uncared for by him. It is on these principles that the sacred history of man is founded. They assure us that there must be a sacred history attached to his existence, and that his race has been always living under the development and conduct of it.

It is a difficult subject for us to discover the divine system which has been pursuing through it; but not more difficult than that of material nature has been found to be. As already intimated, I do not presume to be able to accomplish more than to place my foot upon the threshold of the sacred building which I admire, and to glance upon the awful interior and the grand avenues connected with it.

Others will in time advance farther, and discern what I desire to explore, but am not competent sufficiently to elucidate. But I shall be satisfied if I can succeed in showing, that views like these will give to the history, and transactions, and fortunes of mankind, a meaning and a philosophy which they cannot possess on any other supposition, and by which they will become more useful and be more permanently interesting to us.

But although the cultivated mind of the present day, at least in our own enlightened country, and indeed very generally in others, where knowledge is pursued, though with some exceptions which we must lament, infers and maintains that our earth and its system have been the creations of a reasoning and omnipotent Deity; yet this truth could be known to be such by our primeval ancestors, only from a re-

elation and assurance of the fact by the Divine Architect, or on his authority. No human being witnessed the operation; nor could the first man at his emerging into existence, ignorant of the very nature of being and power, and causation and effect, have then understood it, even if he had been framed before the other parts of his world, and had beheld these arising simultaneously or successively around him. He would have only seen vast movements, as unintelligible as universal; mighty masses in conflicting agitations; figures starting up with endless diversity; and innumerable changes and phenomena of scenes and substances, that would have confused his eyesight and baffled his comprehension. He would have been terrified, rather than instructed, and have sought his shelter in the nearest cavity or penetrable forest, instead of contemplating, in order to comprehend, what would be too grand even for his vision to survey, and too alarming for him to have any wish to witness.

The first idea of a creating Deity, and that the visible world was his production, must have originated in the human mind from his express communication. It is too sublime an impression to have been self-formed within us; although as soon as it was suggested, many a heart has delighted to cherish it, as most congenial with its best feelings and intellect; and in proportion as mind has increased in knowledge, it has been active and eager to trace the marks and confirmations of it in the fabric, and beauties, and beneficences of surrounding nature. Yet, though millions have felt with the Hebrew sovereign, that "the heavens declare the glory of God," and that the starry hosts display the special operation of his forming power, the deduction is not likely to have been made without the revelation that conducts us to it. Many ages at least must have first elapsed, however easy it is now to reason on it, for want of that long and patient observation of natural things, which will alone give due knowledge of them; and of that practised discernment of their several relations and connected effects, which enable so many acute thinkers in our age to support the sublime conclusion with such philosophical certainty and such great precision.

That the momentous communication was made to man of the divine origin of himself and of his abode at the beginning of his existence, the Mosaic history narrates; and there is

every reason to believe the declaration. No intelligent Creator would have concealed such a circumstance from the intellectual creature by whom he wished to be known, and whose affection and obedience he condescended to desire. It is only surprising that the noble truth should have ever been depreciated or disregarded by any portion of mankind; and yet we find from history that it was so slighted or perverted in the most ancient times by many, that it became obsolete or forgotten by some nations; and that other theories of the origin of things, although as fantastic as ignorance or folly could make them, were substituted instead. Though some few minds at all times seem to have withstood the stream of popular extravagance, yet they could not arrest the mental deterioration on this subject.

Even in ancient Greece the creation of the world was not the opinion of the multitude, nor the public tenet of their priesthood. The cosmogony on which the ancient paganism was founded in the Grecian states, was that strange system which Hesiod has detailed in his *Theogony*;* and which Homer seems not to have discredited.† This represents a chaos and a night without a Deity, to have been the first state of things; and deduces thence the earth, and from the earth, or from the anterior confusion of matter, those divin-

* Hesiod says, that the Muses, the nine daughters of Mnemosyne, or Memory, sang, "First the venerated race of the gods, whom the earth and the spacious Οὐρανός or sky brought forth from the beginning. From these were produced the gods, the givers of good (εὐεργετοῖς)."—*Theog.* 44-6. He called upon them to "celebrate the sacred race of the ever-existing immortals, who were born (ἐξ᾽εὐεργετοῖς) out of the earth and the starry sky, and in the dark night, and whom the salt sea (πῶντος) nourished."—415-7.

After farther invocations for their inspiration, he details the system, which makes chaos the first of all things. From this came Erebus and black night, and from that ether and the day. The earth then produced the starry sky to cover itself, and then proceeded to bring forth the mountains, sea, and long train of gods and giants, which he enumerates.—*Hes. Theog.* v. 116-153.

† Homer makes Somnus, or Sleep, refuse to Juno to close the eyes of Jupiter. He says, "I could easily put into slumber any other of the ever-existing gods, even the billows of the flowing ocean that has brought them all in being; but not the son of Saturn, unless he desire it." He gives as his reason, "that having once before done so, Jupiter would have thrown me into the sea, unless night, the tamer of gods and men, had preserved me; for though much enraged, he was afraid of exciting the displeasure of swift night."—*Iliad.* l. xiv. v. 244-262. These ideas represent the ocean as the parent of Homer's divinities, and night as their master, whom even Jupiter dreaded.

ities, whom the chief part of the active-minded men of Greece, both lay and sacerdotal, the eminent in fame and rank, and the prominent in all the business and intellect of life, chose, with few exceptions, to uphold and worship. Thus, they made material nature not only to precede their gods, but also to produce them, instead of being created by them. Orpheus, in the *Argonautica*, which, if not his composition, was meant to represent his ideas, puts his chaos, and skies, and earth, and sea, before he notices any thing like an agency of a different kind, and this he calls Eros, or desire.* Aristophanes expresses similar ideas on the origin of things, and makes his "birds" in this comedy claim, on this ground, a priority of birth, before the gods, as well as before men.† What the popular dramatist made his theme before an Athenian audience, at a time when he was satirising Socrates for deviating into religious novelties, we may assume to have corresponded with the established tenets and general sentiment. Other Grecians also derived their first gods from the material world,‡ agreeing in the principle

* Orpheus placed chaos as the first of all things, and speaks of it with two words, *αὐρχαρον ἀνακην*, as if to imply that it existed by an uncontrollable necessity.—Argon. v. 12. He afterward took his lyre, and chanted to his companions: "I sang the obscure hymn of the ancient (or beginning) chaos, how it changed alternately the natures of things: how the heaven or sky (Ouranos) came to its boundary: the generation of the wide-bosomed earth; and the depth of the sea." He then adds Eros, or love, and afterward "the miserable Kronos."—Argon. v. 419-26. In the Orphic hymn to Night, this is called "the genitor of gods and men; night the genesis of all things," p. 188. So in another, ocean is termed the "genesis or producer of the immortal gods and mortal men."—Hymn 82, p. 278. Some other fragments of Orpheus express wiser ideas, as if his private and popular doctrines were not always alike.

† "First there was chaos and night; the black Erebus and the spacious Tartarus. There was neither earth, nor air, nor skies; but in the unbounded bosom of Erebus, black-winged night first produced an egg below the winds, from which, at the completed season, the desirable Eros came forth with golden wings like whirlwinds. He from chaos generated a race (the birds); prior to that there was no immortals, before Eros intermingled all things, and then Ouranos (the skies), ocean and earth, and the incorruptible race of the blessed deities appeared."—Aristoph. *Aves*. v. 698.

‡ Thus Hieronymus and Hellanicus, two historians, narrated, that "Water was from the beginning, and matter, *Υλη*, from which the earth was produced, putting water and earth as the two principles of things. The third principle after these, and generated from them, was a dragon, having naturally the head of a bull and lion, with the countenance of a god. He has wings upon his shoulders, and is named the

of postponing their deities to maternal existences, though varying in some parts of the explaining theory.* But the very fact of the ancients universally believing Zeus or Jupiter to have become the ruling and all-powerful god of their Olympus, by deposing his father Kronos or Saturn, is evidence that he could not be regarded as the creator of the world by the nations who worshipped him; as they represent him always as the son of an earlier god, whom Orpheus calls, apparently from his defeat and humiliation, "the miserable Chronos," and who was himself but an emergence or production of an anterior state of things.†

The Phenician theology was grounded on the same notions.‡ The Egyptians had much similarity,§ while the Babylonian opinions, as stated by Berosus, are as wild as absurdity could dream, but equally precluding the supposition that the world was an intelligent creation of an intelligent

incorruptible Chronos and Hercules. *Necessity* also (*ἀνάγκη*) being the same as nature, is connected with him." Damascias states this, cited in Cory's Ancient Fragments, p. 312, 2d ed.

* Epimenides affirms, that the two first principles are air and night.—Damascias, p. 317. "Acusilaus appears to me to regard chaos as the first principle, and altogether unknown, and after this one to place the duad Erebus as the male, and night as the female; from these were generated Ether and Eros, and Metis (counsel). From these, according to the relation of Eudemus, he deduces the vast multitude of the other gods"—Damascias, ap. Cory, p. 316.

† This is the general system taught by the Grecian poets, and by several of their historians and mythologists, and is alluded to in the Argonautica, when Orpheus describes himself to have chanted "of the miserable Chronos, and how the royal government of the blessed immortals came to Dia (Jupiter), delighting in thunder."—Arg. v. 424, 5.

‡ Sanchoniathon makes the principle of all things a condensed air or wind, and a turbid chaos; like Erebus, from whose union Mot or mud was produced. From this came the generation of the universe, and animals without sensation, from whom issued animals with intelligence, in the shape of an egg, called Zophasemin, or the inspectors of the heavens, the sun, moon, and stars.—Euseb. to Prep. Evan. l. i. c. 10.

§ Eusebius remarks, that "Chæremón and others believe that nothing existed before the visible worlds. Placing the Egyptian opinions as the head of these, who say that there were no gods before the planets and the constellations of the zodiac."—Euseb. Prep. Evan. l. iii. c. 4. Damascias mentions, that "the Egyptian philosophers with us deliver their occult truth from certain Egyptian discourses; as, that the one principle of all things was hymned as unknown darkness, and that the two principles are water and sand."—Damas. Cory. p. 320. Bruker, who discusses the question fairly, decides, "that there can be no doubt that they deemed matter to have been eternal, and never made or created."—Hist. Phil. v. l. p. 298. This matter, distinguished into the

Deity.* Even many of those philosophers, who must have emancipated themselves from these mythologies, yet could not rise to this great truth, but chose rather to believe the world to have been eternal, and never made at all. Aristotle is noted for entertaining this misconception,† and the preferred opinion even of the Grecian philosophers, who admitted a Deity, was to give at least a co-eternity to matter.‡

Relics of the sacred communication of the creation were, however, retained, though in a clouded state, in some parts of the world. The Tyrrhenians were an instance of this.§ The Persian Magi, likewise; though involving what was true with much that was absurd.|| The individual who stands most prominent to us for right ideas on this great subject was that Athenian, who, as he is portrayed in his more

four elements, was the beginning of things. So Manetho and Hecateus taught. Diog. Laert. i. s. 10.

* "There was a time in which darkness and water were all that existed. In these were monstrous animals of double natures; men with two wings, and others with four, and two faces. They had one body, but two faces; one male, the other female. Some human forms had legs and horns of goats; others were half horse and half men. Bulls with human heads, and dogs with fourfold bodies, &c. &c., of all which there were likenesses in the Temple of Belus."—Syncell. Chron. p. 28. Euseb. Chron. p. 5. the Armenian Transl.

† In his work *de Cœlo*, Aristotle maintains the eternity of the world, meaning by that the whole mundane system, and denies that there was any body beyond it, or any space, vacuity, or time.—L. i. c. 10. He asserts that it never was and never could be generated, and was incorruptible, and could not be dissolved.—C. 11, 12. It is obvious that these opinions excluded all ideas of an intelligent creation, or of a Maker's power over it. He re-asserts both its past and future eternity.—L. ii. c. 1. This opinion, which seems to have been rather adopted than invented by him, descended to Pliny, who, using some of Aristotle's phrases, calls the world, "eternum; neque genitum; neque interitum unquam."—Nat. Hist. l. ii. c. 1.

‡ The theory contended for by Plato was a coalition between an eternity and a fabrication. He admitted matter to be eternal, but in his *Timæus* argued that the world had an artificer, who made it to be a vast, living animal; "a whole animal, in the highest degree perfect from perfect parts" (p. 460); "but without legs and feet."—"On all these accounts he rendered the universe a blessed God."—p. 462. He says, "it is necessary to call the world an animal, endued with intellect, and generated through the providence of Deity."—Plato *Tim.* Taylor's Transl. p. 458. This is not an intellectual creation of the world, nor a beginning of it. So his translator and disciple intimates, for he says, "When the world is said by Plato to be generated, this term does not imply any temporal commencement of its existence."—Intro. p. 401.

§ Sacred Hist. vol. i. p. 30.

|| *Ib.* So the Chaldean oracles, quoted by Proclus, speak of a Maker (*Ποιητής*) framing the world.—Procl. in *Timeo*, p. 154.

natural shape by Xenophon, had wiser opinions than any of his contemporaries, and deserved the oracular encomium which he is stated to have received—I mean Socrates.* In his conversation with Aristodemus, he urges him to believe the existence of the Deity, on our own great principles of visible skill, orderly arrangement, manifest purposes, and provisions and adaptations of the due means for the intended ends. These are but slightly touched, and on the most obvious points, and without that fulness of demonstration with which modern science can elucidate them; but this, and his subsequent discourse on the goodness of the Deity with Euthydemus, are sufficient to place Socrates high above his contemporaries, and not less above his successors.† For though Plato makes him discourse of a Demiurgus and an artificer, yet it is with so many metaphysical subtleties, so much verbal logic, and such strange additions, that the simple truth is lost from the mental eye, and nothing follows from it.‡ Plato's sentiments, as he chose to express them, were put on the points dangerous at that time, so variously, that

* When Chæremon, at the temple of Delphos, asked if there was in the world any one wiser than Socrates, the Pythian priestess gave that answer which Suidas and the scholiast on Aristophanes have preserved :

“Sophocles is wise, yet Euripides is wiser :
But Socrates is the wisest of all men.”

Suid. Voc. Σωφρος, v. ii. p. 780.

Plato makes Socrates recite the incident in his Apology, and reason upon it, to the conclusion that he was the wisest, only because he knew his ignorance, and disclaimed having the wisdom which was imputed to him.—Plat. Apol. Soc.

† Xenoph. *Απομ.* l. i. c. 4. and l. iii. c. 3. But he reminds Euthydemus, that when the Delphian oracle was consulted how they should acceptably worship the gods, it answered, “According to the law of your country.”—L. iv. c. 3. Thus still recommending the practice of paganism.

‡ A perusal of the *Timæus* and *Parmenides* will show how Plato chooses to reason on this great subject. He seems to have some vague ideas of an eternal pattern, by which his Maker formed it. “It is to be considered according to what paradigm, extending himself, he fabricated the world. But if this world is beautiful, and its artifices good, it is evident that he looked towards an *eternal exemplar* in its fabrication. It is perfectly evident that he regarded an eternal paradigm.”—Plato *Tim.* p. 455. This exemplar is not represented as originating from the Deity; but, like matter, as co-eternal with him. Cicero, in his treatise *De Universitate*, seems to abridge or translate this part of the *Timæus*, though without alluding to it. “Si probus ejus artifex, profecto speciem æternitatis imitari maluit; non igitur dubium, quin æternitatem maluerit exsequi.” Most of what remains of this little work is taken from Plato.

it was difficult to collect his real meaning from them.* But it is due to him to remark, that he dared not express what he knew.† It was, indeed, the highest crime at Athens at that time to do so. Their laws and polity, and domestic habits, were all founded on paganism, as well as their religion. It was on such a charge that Socrates perished.‡ Yet Plato had ideas which he has expressed, that are inconsistent with that rational creation which the Scriptures reveal to us. He makes the fixed stars divine animals, and the earth the first generated Deity,§ and inculcates a belief in the accounts of the ancients, manifestly alluding to those which Hesiod put into his hexameter verses. Whether he believed or not in all he wrote, still it went to the world as from his pen, and partook of the influence which his works obtained.||

* Cicero remarks, in the first book of his *Academica*, that in Plato's works many things are said on both sides of his questions. Every thing is doubted, and nothing ever affirmed. This must always be the case in whatever relates to the Deity, without the regulating aid of revelation.

† He mentions in his *Timæus*, that to discover the Artificer and Father of the universe is indeed difficult, and, when found, it is impossible to reveal him through the ministry of discourse to all men.—P. 456. Cicero has inserted this sentiment in his *Universitate*.

‡ Xenophon gives us the accusation of Melitus, that Socrates did not acknowledge the gods, whom the republic worshipped, and introduced new ones.—*Æno.* p. 1.—Plato has preserved a part of the dialogue on the trial.

§ *Soc.* I am myself persuaded that there are gods; I am not at all an atheist.

¶ *Mel.* I assert that you do not acknowledge the gods.

¶ *Soc.* You are a strange man, Melitus, to say this. Do I not believe as other men do, that the sun and moon are gods?

¶ *Mel.* By Jupiter, O judges! he declares that the sun is a stone, and the moon an earth!

¶ *Soc.* These were the opinions of Anaxagoras; but have I taught youth so? can you think I believe no God?

¶ *Mel.* In none. By all that is sacred, not in one.—Plato, *Æno.* 9. They were obviously here alluding to different things; Melitus to the established divinities; Socrates to his purer theism; and yet his last words were, as stated by Plato, "O Crito! we owe a cock to Esculapius. Render this, and do not forget it."—"This shall be done," answered Crito; "do you wish any thing else?" But the dying sage spoke no more.—Plat. *Phed.* c. 49.

¶ § "Such of the stars as were inerratic were generated, which are divine animals. But He fabricated the earth, the common nourisher of our existence, which is the guardian and artificer of night and day, and is the first and most ancient of the gods, which are generated within the heavens."—Plat. *Tim.* 472.

¶ || Thus, "it is necessary in this case to believe in ancient men, who,

What was rational in the ideas of Socrates on this grand subject, did not descend, in their truth and simplicity, to the schools and philosophers who were formed from him ; but was so spoiled and nullified by the heterogeneous matter which was mingled with it, that it made no impression on the general mind. From the same cause the Pythagoreans, who had also many valuable notions or fragments of the true system of the universe, made no beneficial use of them, and advanced no farther. The Romans followed the Greeks, but only to favour or to adopt opposing speculations. Their most enlightened portion on the subject of Deity was the Stoics, who had many noble ideas, but defeated their proper effect by joining with them Plato's suggestion, that the earth was a living animal, and a god, which exposed them to the Epicurean's sarcastic question, How their deity liked to have his back cut by the plough, or torn by their harrows ; to be burnt in the torrid zone, and frozen into ice in the arctic regions.* Cicero, who at times could reason admirably on the intelligent construction of the world, and was the most informed of all his countrymen, yet was so paralyzed in his own judgment by the chaos of the opinions he found started on this topic, that, in his most elaborate work upon it, he contents himself first with stating one series of opinions, and then the contrary, and closes his theme by ingeniously argu-

being the progeny of the gods, as they themselves assert, must have a clear knowledge of their parents. It is impossible therefore not to believe in the children of the gods, though they should speak without probable or necessary arguments. It is proper that, complying with the law, we should assent to their tradition."

He then states from them "the generation of these gods." Ocean and Tethys were the progeny of heaven and earth. From hence Phorcys, Saturn and Rhea, and such as subsist with these, were produced : Jupiter and Juno, and all such as are called their brethren, descended from Saturn and Rhea, &c. When they were all generated, the Artificer of the universe thus addressed them : "gods of gods ! of whom I am the demiurgus and father," &c. &c.—P. 472. Such a medley was Plato's most serious tuition.

* Velleius taunts Balbus with those sarcasms in the *Natura Deorum*. It is a pity that so great a man as Kepler should revive so absurd a notion. Yet in 1619, in his mature years, he published his *Harmonies*, in which work "he expounds his notions of astrology ; and while he strongly condemns the absurdities of the vulgar belief, attempts to substitute a system of celestial influences, in which he seriously represents the earth as an enormous living animal, the tides being its act of respiration, and its vital sympathies being excited by the configurations of the planets."—Powell's *Hist. Nat. Phil.* p. 154.

ing against all, and apparently recommending a neutralizing uncertainty and indecision.* Thus, until Christianity spread, it never became a settled opinion at all in the world that the earth was the planned and deliberate creation of an intelligent God. Nor does any one seem to have conceived it to have been so, in that clear and full meaning, sublimity and certainty, with which the Hebrew writers inculcate the momentous truth. Take up the *Timæus*, or any other work of Plato, which treats on God and nature, or what fragments of antiquity remain about them, and compare these with the passages in the *Genesis* and *Deuteronomy* of Moses; with those in the book of *Job*, which is peculiarly splendid in many parts on this subject; with others in some of the *Psalms* of David, in the majestic and unequalled *Isaiah*, and in several of the other Jewish prophets; and I think you will feel, with me, that Christianity, by diffusing the Jewish Scriptures, or sacred writings, and by its own as sacred additions, imparted a new intellect to mankind on all that concerns divine philosophy. A sun of mind then rose on our world which has never set. Its beams consumed the popular paganism, and spread a purifying light over those who chose not to forsake their ancient favourite.† It has rescued the civilized world from those phantoms which once degraded it; and now, in friendly association with the science, taste, and virtues which are peculiarly congenial with it, and which it has always fostered, we may hope that both superstition and atheism are generally banished or are departing from us for ever; and that, as they are both noxious to society, and very

* Cicero's first book of the *Natura Deorum* details, in the person of Velleius, the Epicurean attacks on all the theories of deity which the ancient philosophers had devised as well as on the popular one. The second book contains the argument of Balbus, the stoic, in defence of his opinions, spoiling what were really good and wise, by the absurd tenet that the world was an animated being, the incorporated divinity.

The last book exhibits Cotta as the academic, reviewing at times with much derision the arguments of both, but criticising them as inconclusive; "not," he adds, "that I mean to take the divinity away, but to show how obscure and difficult the subject is;" and all that Cicero himself adds, as his final sentence, is, "The argument of Balbus seems to me to be ad veritatis similitudinem propensor"—rather more probable.

† This effect may be traced in the valuable writings of Epictetus and Marcus Antoninus, and at times in those of Seneca. The same influence roused the later Platonists of the Alexandrian school, and even Porphyry and Julian, to make many improvements, both in the theory and practice of the pagan worship, which they endeavoured to uphold.

apt to create each other, neither will, as knowledge advances and judgment improves, be attached to the mind of any educated, philanthropic, or wellmeaning individual.

LETTER III.

On the Laws of Nature—What they really are—Their divine Origin, and Operation.

By steadily regarding all things as the designed and purposed creation of God, we shall form juster notions than we commonly do on what are called the laws of nature; and as these are what are almost only taken into consideration, in the modern writings on the physical sciences, as the causes of the phenomena they describe, it will be important to our due comprehension of the sacred history of the world, that we should endeavour to establish in our minds a correct perception of what they really are; especially if we desire to avoid attaching to them any atheistical signification, or wish not to use them as mere words or forms of phrase. Both of these applications would be unworthy of an intellectual man. Whoever values rightness of thought or advancement of knowledge, will not willingly make use of any terms without a distinct and clear meaning in his own mind when he chooses the verbal expressions by which he denotes and imparts it. Nothing more perpetuates error than the repetition of words of course, without just ideas being connected with them.

The laws of nature have been stated to be the properties of material things; the modes of their mutual action and the rules of their causations;* and in this largeness of sense they imply the acting powers of nature, the direction or regulation of these powers in their operation, and the effects produced by them.

* "Laws of nature. In this phrase are included all properties of the portions of the material world; all modes of action and rules of causation according to which they operate on each other. The whole course of the visible universe, therefore, is but the collective result of such laws. Its movements are only the aggregate of *their working*."—Whe-well's Bridgw. Treat. Astron. p. 7.

But this extent of meaning makes them almost synonymous with external nature altogether, for that is but a series of causes and effects; of operating powers governed in their agency, and producing consequential results. Adding to this the fact, that they have been established by the Deity himself, and therefore originate from him,* we have the Creator and the creation displayed before us in this description of the laws of nature. Nothing can be more comprehensive and satisfactory. These laws must be as numerous as the parts and composition of nature are diversified, and they are fitly so represented to us.† In considering the laws of nature thus, we are contemplating the Deity in his creating and conserving operations; and all the phenomena which we witness and admire, are the consequences of his perpetual agency, by the instrumentality of these his appointed, governed, and continued laws. The laws of nature are thus his laws; the science which they display is his science; their universal operation is his universal agency; the effects which they occasion are his intended and produced results. The laws of nature thus exhibit to us the will, the decisions, the ordainments, the meaning, and the purposes of the divine intellect in their principles, their rules or regulations, their applications, and their co-operations. These they are always manifesting to us in the phenomena which they are producing; which phenomena must be what they were intended to occasion; as all causes are used for the sake of the effects which they produce, and these must be such as were meant to follow from the causing action.

Let us keep these principles always in our view when we talk or think of the laws of nature, and we shall not then get into the habit of using the phrase without any thought of their Divine Author, or as something quite independent of him, and with which he has no concern, and which would have subsisted without him; or as what do not proceed from him.

* Mr. Whewell divides his subject into two portions: "cosmical arrangements and terrestrial adaptations. The former may be best suited to introduce to us the Deity as the institutor of laws of nature; though the latter may afterward give us a wider view and clearer insight into one province of his legislation."—Whewell's *Brigg. Treat. Astron.* p. 16.

† The number and variety of the laws which we find established in the universe are so great, that it would be idle to endeavour to enumerate them. In their operations they are combined and intermixed in incalculable and endless complexity; influencing and modifying each other's effects in every direction."—*Ib.* p. 12.

By some they have been spoken of in this erroneous sense ; and by a too careless omission of all reference to him, they often seem to be so used, when the real meaning of the author, if fairly asked, would be found quite contrary to such an imputation.

Let us, then, remember, that whenever a law of nature operates, a power in nature is so operating. The enunciation of the law is but a designation of the power, and that particular power must either originate from itself, or from a superior power, which can only be the general Creator.

But all laws act in a regulated manner and to specific effects, and are in adjusted or governed harmony and coincidence with each other. They must, then, either regulate, adjust, and govern themselves, or they must be arranged and guided by some power extraneous to themselves, which can arrange and guide them ; but no power can do so which has not mind, thought, intention, will, and determination, and so much of these as is adequate to do what is performed. The superior power from which all the laws of nature originate, and by which they are regulated, must, then, be an intelligent being, of a largeness of mind more than equal to all which the laws of nature exhibit or imply, as it comprehends, has derived, and established, and actuates all.

This leads us to the same inference as before. This being can only be the admirable and all-wise Creator.*

The operating powers or laws of nature are moving powers ; as such, they must either be self-moving, or be put into their motions by a power greater than their own. But if they be self-moving, all must be so, one as much as another ; and this idea would give us as many self-moving powers in nature as there are moving forces ; but if the active laws of nature are innumerable, we shall then have an innumerable quantity of self-moving forces.

Now we find, as already noticed, that all the laws and powers of nature are acting in a regulated manner, producing each its specific effect, and that all harmonize with mutual co-operation. They must, then, be all acting in concert with

* "Of such laws, *HE* is the lawgiver. At what an immeasurable interval is *HE* thus placed above every thing which the creation of the inanimate world alone would imply ; and how far must *HE* transcend all ideas founded on such laws as we find there !" — Whewell, *Astron.* p. 373.

each other, and therefore from some previous deliberation and certain compact, understood or established; that is, all the self-moving forces must be thinking, intending, adjusting, and self-governing powers, entering into the necessary agreement with each other as to their mutual coincidences or interferences; and thus, like a national assembly, or a grand parliament of all visible nature, decreeing by their general consent what each shall do or shall not do, and thus settling a general constitution, with appropriate laws for each to observe, and for all to conform to. But this supposition converts them at once into rational beings; and instead of natural laws, forces, and powers of mere physical agency, we are brought back to the ancient chimeras of the world, which revelation and increased science have so happily exploded. On this theory the Stoics were not absurd in saying that the wind, like a human being, could move itself spontaneously;* and that water had the same power of self-motivity, and, as a living thing, could bring forth living creatures;† nay, that fire had such a vitality and productive property;‡ nor that the revolving planets were likewise moving animals, and that all the stars, with the sun, moon, and earth, were self-moving divinities,§ as other things also are as rationally supposed to be!||

* Seneca says, "I think the truer and more powerful cause of wind is, that the air has a natural power of *moving itself* (*movendi se*); nor can I conceive any thing else, but that this property is in it, as in some other things. Can you think that a power like this is given to us, by which we spontaneously move, and that the air should be less inert and without this agitatibility?"—*Nat. Quest.* l. v. c. 5.

† "So the water has a self-motion of its own, when there is no wind to disturb it; nor could it otherwise bring forth animals; yet we see them born out of waters, and things of an herb species floating upon them. Air has some power of the same kind, and at one time condenses itself, and at another spontaneously expands and purifies itself."—*Ib.* l. v. c. 6.

‡ "Is there any thing vital in water? Do I speak only of water? Why, fire, which consumes all things, likewise creates them. It seems not possible to be true, and yet it is so. Animals are generated by fire."—*Ib.* l. v. c. 6.

§ Cicero sneers at the Stoic for believing "that the world itself is a wise creature, has a mind which, by its own agency, made its frame, and still moves and governs it;" also, that "the sun, the moon, all the stars and sea, were gods, and that a kind of *animalis intelligentia* pervades and passes through them all."—"These things may be true, but I deny that they can be perceived or comprehended."—*Cicer. Lucul.* p. 92.

|| Thus, Zeno thought that the ethereal sky was the *Summus Deus mente præditus*, by which all things were governed; *Cic. Luc.* p. 97.

At this rate, every moving power in nature is a living and an intelligent being, and acts for itself as such, as much as we do in our homes and cities, in our literary, public, and private affairs. But no mind is now so gross as, to be imposed upon by such vagaries. We should consign to medical care any one who should seriously maintain now, as so many in the ancient world did, that any acting power or force in earthly nature was a living and an intelligent being, except our own race and the universal Creator.

The laws and powers of nature cannot be, therefore, self-moving or self-regulative, but must be moved and regulated by the only being superior to themselves which is living and intelligent, and capable to think, adjust, and direct; and this again must be concluded to be the Almighty cause of all things.*

Thus the laws of nature, properly considered, lead us in every view to him. They are in all things his laws—his appointed, intended, and governed agencies. In them we see his mind and will in action. They are the servants of his intelligence, and the ministers to execute his plans, and to perform daily and continuously his orders and intentions, as much as our hands or our obeying assistants in our several families, are daily executing ours.†

In all cases they are, like his agency and superintendence, the inferences of our judgment not the objects of our sight.

In the same spirit, Anaximenes made the air a deity; De Nat. Deor. p. 22. While Xenocrates wrote in his books "that there are eight gods; five in the moving planets, one composed of all the fixed stars, which are like his limbs, another the sun, and the eighth the moon."—Cic. Nat. Deor. l. i. p. 27.

* "His power, his wisdom, his goodness, appear in each of the provinces of nature, which are thus brought before us: and in each, the more we study them, the more impressive, the more admirable do they appear. When we find these qualities manifested in each of so many successive ways, and each manifestation rising above the preceding by unknown degrees, and through a progression of unknown extent, what other language can we use concerning such attributes, than that they are INFINITE?"—Whewell's Astron. p. 372.

† Dr. Kidd very appositely asks,—"In calculating the unerring motions of the heavenly bodies, have we been content to characterize the certainty and regularity of their motions as the result of necessity, or of the laws of an undefined agent, called nature? And in thus failing to acknowledge explicitly the Author of these laws, though not indeed formally denying his existence, have we, like the nations of old, worshipped the creature rather than the Creator."—Dr. Kidd's Bridg. Treat. on the Adaptation of external Nature, p. 343.

We cannot see a law of nature, but we infer it. It is not written, like a proclamation, on visible paper, and hung up in the universe, to be translated or read. The phenomena which it occasions are all that our senses can know; but these indicate it to our discerning and reasoning mind; and we think and conjecture, connect and compare what we observe, until we find out the general law or principle on which the facts occur. It is in the same way we learn the agency of the Deity, and the derivation of all the laws of nature from him. It is in the same way we must study and strictly explore his intentions and purposes in them, and in all which they accomplish. We can only know the events and results; but by duly contemplating these, and by rightly reasoning upon them, we shall in time form those probable inferences as to his ends and meaning, which the more judicious minds will feel to be most satisfactory, and will be always trying to confirm or to enlarge and improve.* Our perceptions as to these will become more just and more successful in proportion as our knowledge and exercise of mind upon them increase. The human thought will improve in these meditations, as it has done in all others, by patient attention, by continued deliberation, by comparison of events, by a constant endeavour to ascertain the exact truth, and by a desire to avoid all misleading prepossessions, all hasty theories, and all egotistical presumptions.†

* The admirable words of Handel's beautiful and impressive air should be always in our recollection:—

“What though I trace each herb and flower

That drinks the morning dew!

Unless I own JEHOVAH's power,

How vain were all I knew!”

Hand. Sol.

† Dr. Kidd's concluding paragraph deserves our frequent recollection, —“If, with Newton, we have delighted to deduce from the contemplation of the mechanism of the heavenly bodies the power of HIM who made them, and who alone sustains and directs their motions, we may, and with faculties infinitely expanded, cultivate with him the same pure pleasures which, even on earth, attracted his desires from earthly wants.

“Enraptured with the harmonious movement of these endless systems, which neither our present organs can see, nor our present faculties apprehend, we may continue to be constantly acquiring new knowledge; constantly absorbed in new wonder and adoration of THAT POWER, from whom, both in this world and in that which is to come, all knowledge, and every other good and perfect gift, are alone derived.”—
Dr. Kidd, p. 344.

How superior in views like these of our collegiate professor, and of myriads of others who think and feel like him, does the modern mind of

The importance of our adhering to the great principle of the divine creation of the world, is strikingly shown in the wild conjectures by which they who reject it and all sacred authorities, attempt still to account for the origin of all things. The two latest systems of this sort now afloat, indicate what we should soon sink to if we abandoned the idea of an intelligent Creator.*

LETTER IV.

Causes of the Idea of a Creation having been absent from the Ancient Mind—Importance of the Inferences which result from it—Ancient suppositions of Necessity and Fate, instead of a Creation and Providence—No general Providence without an individual one—These Ideas the Foundation of all Sacred History.

MY DEAR BOY,

It may surprise you at the first glance to find that the ancient world were generally unable to cherish in their minds that idea of a creating God which the Hebrew Scriptures inculcate, and which the enlightened population of our own happier day so universally entertain; especially as the communication of the fact accompanied the first existence of our race. The hostility of some among us to this great verity of nature, evinces that it may be opposed by individuals without being unknown or forgotten: but that in every country of antiquity it should have been so much abandoned and disliked, and so

human nature appear to that of the greatest and most celebrated men who adorned the ancient nations of the world!

* Mr. Cuvier thus states them: "Some writers have reproduced and greatly extended the ideas of De Maillet. They say that, at first, every thing was in a state of liquefaction; that the liquid engendered animals of the simplest kind, such as monads, and others of the infusory and microscopic species; and that, in progress of time, these animals complicated and diversified their species into those now existing."

Other writers, like Kepler, assign vital powers to the globe; each of its component parts has life. Not only the very elementary atoms have instinct and will, but every sort of mineral can convert immense masses into its own proper nature. Mountains are the organs of the respiration of the globe, and the schists, the secreting organs!—Cuvier's Fossil Bones, v. i. p. 41.

In what do these notions substantially differ from those above quoted from Seneca, which have been so long consigned to derision and oblivion?

many wild and unwarranted conjectures adopted instead, is a circumstance which it is difficult to explain. The real cause I believe to be, that all great truths require a certain progression of the human mind, both morally and intellectually, in order to be adequately valued, felt, or understood. The true idea of God is too much connected with the true philosophy of nature, with the right feelings of the human heart, and with the proper ethical dispositions of the character, to be either liked or fostered where these are absent. But these are notoriously deficient wherever paganism prevails; and without unjustly defaming other ages and nations, we may say, that the strange puerilities which they preferred to worship—the fantastic baby dreams which they patronised and sang, with the lavish effusions of their admiring genius; and the positive falsehoods which, on divine subjects, they either ignorantly adopted or designedly taught, imply that the human intellect had not then reached that extended correctness of judgment which these require, nor attained that proportion of knowledge, without which this invaluable faculty of our spirit will not on any subject be efficaciously exerted.*

* Plutarch's representations of the ideas of some of the most celebrated men of antiquity upon the Deity, show us his impressions of what these were; Christians may misconceive them, but he, with a more congenial education, must have sufficiently understood them.

"Some of the philosophers, as Diagoras the Milesian, Theodorus of Cyrene, and Euhemerus of Tegea, said that there were no gods at all.

"Anaxagoras declared that material things existed stationary from the beginning; but that the mind of God put them in order, and made generations of them all.

"Plato thought that material things were subsisting, but without any arrangement, and were moving confusedly about, and that the Deity, knowing that order was better than disorder, put them into regularity.

"Anaximander affirmed the stars to be the eternal gods; Democritus, that Deity was a fiery form, the soul of the world.

"Pythagoras taught, that of the principles of things the Monad was God, and good, which was the nature of one and the understanding itself; but the Duad was indefinite, and a demon and evil, about which is the multitude of matter and the visible world."

All these systems gave coeternity or anterior eternity to matter.

"Aristotle supposed that the Supreme God (*αὐτορῶς Θεός*) was a separate form stationed on the sphere of the universe, with an ethereal body, which he called the fifth. This being divided according to the spheres, cohering to them by its nature, but distinct in reason, he thought that each of the spheres was a living being, consisting of body and soul; of which the body is ethereal, always moving circularly; but the soul is immovable, and, by its energy, the cause of motion.

For it is universally true that nature must be properly known as to its constitution, laws, and substances, before it can be felt to have been essentially and originally an intelligent creation: and until this is sufficiently perceived from direct revelation reverentially believed, or from a distinct knowledge of the composition, science, and adaptations which it contains, an intelligent Creator making and adjusting both its matter and its form will not be attached to it, nor can be convincingly inferred from it.

He is always what he is; but we cannot discern him, till our minds have been duly trained to trace him in his works; just as no one can know astronomy or geography without a similar process.

It is as impossible for a Bramin or Buddist, with their vernacular books of their sciences, to be a rational geographer, as with their Vedas, Puranas, and Ramayunas and accredited idolatry, to have a rational idea of God. A palace cannot be built of mud, nor can the Toorkmun or Caffre architects of their cabins construct a cathedral. Both the mind and the material must be improved before the efficiency can occur; and for this result to take place, sufficient time and the suited progress must intermediately precede.*

"The Stoics thought the Deity to be more common in every thing; a workman fire (*πῦρ τεχνικόν*) proceeding in a way to the generation of the world, comprehending all things with spermatie reasons, by which all things are made according to fated destiny; a spirit pervading the whole universe, but changing its denominations as it passes through all nature. So that God is the world, the stars, and the earth, and the mind supreme above all in the sky.

"Epicurus declared, that all the gods have human forms (*ἀνθρωπομορφοί*); but all these can be seen by the reason only, from the subtilty of the nature of their images. They were also incorruptible, atomical, empty, unbounded and alike."—*Plut. Plac. Phil.* l. i. c. 7.

* I am quite satisfied, and I write with the largest recollection of all that I have read upon the subject which I can comprehend, that no individual in any country, from the time of Thales to our Saviour, except in the Jewish nation, either believed, or would have admitted, both the first article in our decalogue and the first sentence in our creed, with which the poorest person who attends his Sunday devotion is now familiar:—

"I am the Lord thy God. Thou shalt have *no other* God but me."

"I believe in God; the Father Almighty; the *Maker* of heaven and earth, and all things visible and invisible."

The creation of matter, and the non-existence of any other gods of any sex, than the One Almighty whom we worship, were nowhere parts of the ancient mind out of Judea.

It is the perceived and understood skill of any human mechanism which occasions us to estimate justly the contriving talents of its maker.

As long as a savage believes that a watch grows of itself, he will never suppose that there has been a watch-maker: nor would those who thought a ship to be a living animal, imagine that any naval architect constructed it.* So, as long as the classical nations would dream of marriages between the different parts of nature, and literally thought and believed all things to be parental productions; and would consider night, and the sky, the ocean, rivers, fire, and the other elements, to be personal beings forming conubial unions with each other, and having men and gods as their children, or at least constantly talking of them as such, it was impossible, that with such opinions they could think of a designing and forming Creator.† It was more suitable to these ideas that they should have fancied that men crawled out of the earth like worms, or were self-hatched from floating eggs;‡ and when they added to these systems, or rather superseded them, by their Olympian divinities, they only enlarged their own distance from the truth.

Socrates, Plato, Pythagoras, the stoic school, and even Cicero, believed in the existence of secondary and inferior divinities, in addition to the Supreme whom they spoke of. All paid worship to some of them, and all taught and practised conformity to the popular superstitions of their country. Nor do I think that any but the Persians were hostile to the representation of their deities by material images of some form or other. Most writers who mention these, applaud and justify the practice. The second commandment was therefore as much beyond them as the first.

Plato disliked Homer's pictures of the intrigues and vices of his gods, but expressly admits the existence of such beings, though with a different costume. Plotinus, Porphyry, and Julian, took similar distinctions, and upheld paganism stoutly with their own modifications.

Nothing but Christianity would have overthrown it, nor will now do so in any country where it is prevailing.

* Captain Beechy mentions, that the natives of Bear Island, in the Pacific, "supposed the first vessel which they saw to be the spirit of one of their relations lately deceased."—*Voyage*, vol. i. p. 244.

† We must not mistake the disapproval of some of the tales attached to these gods, as indicating a disbelief in the Polytheism. Pindar complains of fables being repeated about them (*Olym.* i. v. 43), but he was one of their zealous votaries, and revered them as such.

‡ Aristotle, who seems to have preferred the notion that mankind have had no beginning, in one of the works ascribed to him, remarks,—“If men and animals have sprung from the earth, that must have been in one of two ways: either they crawled out as worms, or came out of eggs.”—*De Gen. An.* i. iii. cap. ult.

It was, indeed, an argument of some good sense on this subject, that they did not suppose the world to be the creation of their favourite gods. This was as certain, as it is, that it has been framed by the real Deity. They did unconsciously the due justice to him, in not ascribing it to these idols and worshipped names, who had no actual existence but in their popular ceremonies, in their state religions, in their grotesque or beautiful statues, in their individual chitchat, and in their ever-pleasing poetry.*

It is also at first a matter of some wonder to us, that when the communication of so grand a truth as the creation of nature had been made to man, it should not have been afterward the perpetual companion of the human intellect. It might have been so if man had been but one vast being, that had never died, but had continued in existence from his creation to this moment: but every man's individual ideas and knowledge die with him out of this world, and new beings arise, who have to acquire every thing afresh.

Every human mind is born as naturally ignorant of God as it is naturally ignorant of every thing else.† It is without knowledge of him as it is without any knowledge of all material nature, or even of itself. It has to attain whatever it is to possess. It has no sensations until other things cause these to accrue to it. Whatever his predecessors may have heard or discovered, each individual has to acquire for himself all the opinions and belief which he may afterward possess, just as if he had been the first human being that had come on the earth. Our personal mind remains without any of the ideas which are familiar to others, until

* We see the impression of the human mind as it rose to greater improvements in its knowledge and thought, in the sarcastic observations of Pliny, on the kind of beings which the world—the intellectual Grecians' world, and his own Roman countrymen, had set up as gods. "The virtues and vices, men and animals, things the most indecent, of all shapes, colours, and ages, marriages, adulteries, quarrels, and hatreds; among these, some winged, some lame, some coming out of eggs, and even deities of robberies and crimes;" he truly characterizes such things as "*puerilium deliramentorum*."—*Nat. Hist.* l. ii. c. 5.

† Without suitable instruction, most minds would feel or answer like the untutored Esquimaux. Mr. West says, that when among them, "The sun was then shining in his glory, and the scenery, in the full tide of the water before us, was striking and beautiful. I asked them if they knew who made the heavens and the earth, and all that surrounded us? Their reply was, 'We do not know whether the person who made these things is dead or alive.'"—*Mr. West's first Journal*, p. 177.

it thus learns them from what can impart them. Each of us has, therefore, had to obtain for himself the knowledge that there is such a wondrous being as the Almighty God, and that all things are his creation. This will not of itself fly into the mind like a bird to its tree. We may have sensibilities that are ready to lead us to him, but these are vague emotions, unintelligible to the mind that feels them, until definite information gives them meaning and application. The numerous nations who have not such knowledge, but who have become the prey of base superstitions instead, or who are living vacantly, without any hope or perception on this subject, experimentally prove this fact.*

Whatever we have to know we have to learn, whether it be religion, chymistry, or the mathematics. Every babe in its cradle must be, at that period, without the knowledge of the gracious Power who has caused and superintends it, and so must remain, until some kind friend or parent leads it by degrees to that idea and belief, which its intellectual sensibilities are formed to receive and cherish as soon as they are fitly taught.† If it be left destitute of the instruction, it will grow up without it; in this respect it must then be like the animals in the field, or by its fireside, as ignorant of the Divine Author as of its future destiny. From the want of this tuition, the greatest blessing which one being can confer upon another, how many, even in our days, have minds on this point no farther advanced than the most stupid savage of Australia, or the fetish-governed negro;

* There are several of these still in the world. Thus Mr. West found among the North American Indians whom he visited, that though they admitted and addressed the Great Spirit, yet "their general idea is, that they are more immediately under the influence of a powerful Evil Spirit. Their trials, sufferings, afflictions, and death, make them think so; and therefore their prayers are directed to him, when any severe calamity befalls them. To avert his displeasure, they often use superstitious practices with the most childish credulity. They will drum and dance a whole night, in the hope of bringing relief to the sick and dying." —West's first Journal, p. 135.

Pythagoras connected the earth with his demon principle, as mentioned before in Note on p. 56.

† It was for this reason that the Jewish legislator so earnestly inculcated, "Hear! O Israel! The Lord thy God is one Lord; and thou shalt love the Lord thy God with all thine heart, and with all thy soul. These words shall be in thy heart: and thou shalt teach them diligently unto thy children, and shalt talk of them when thou sittest in thine house; and when thou walkest by the way, and when thou liest down, and when thou risest up."—Deut. c. vi. v. 5-7; again, c. xi. v. 19.

and if the absence were to become national, and to remain so, new insanities of paganism would soon appear, and the human mind be either demonized or stultified, and again enslaved by depraved and infelicitating superstitions. Recent experience justifies this conclusion.*

It is, indeed, a remarkable truth, that the soul cannot rest satisfied without believing in something supernatural. Hence many of those who deny a Deity, have betrayed impressions of this sort: this fact shows how much the human spirit is formed to receive and cherish the divine sensibilities; but still it must be taught to combine with these the right conceptions, or it will not possess them.†

* An instance of this occurred at Paris in November, 1793. On the 7th, the Bishop of Paris and his grand vicars went in form with red caps to the National Convention, and renounced their priesthood and Christianity; three other bishops, several Catholic clergy, and two Protestant ministers did the same, which many others soon imitated. Three days afterward, the constituted authorities of Paris proclaimed a festival to the goddess of Reason and Truth; and a young woman, arrayed as such, and seated in a chair, ornamented with festoons of leaves, was brought in procession to the convention, and seated opposite the president; she received their acclamations, and then, placing herself by his side, he welcomed her with the fraternal embrace, while a chorus of youths sang the hymn to Reason, which had been composed for the occasion.

The convention was invited to assist at the feast of Reason in her own temple, and went accordingly to it.

This was a temporary building raised in the Cathedral of Paris, with an altar, before which the female sat as goddess, with a large torch blazing over her, as the Torch of Truth. Public homage was paid her by the crowded populace.—Public Journals of Nov. 1793, and *Moniteur*. Robespierre, who censured this as atheistical, yet being equally adverse to Christianity, in the following June had what he called a fête to the Supreme Being, in which he acted as highpriest. His plan was also to make the virtues objects of veneration, by having festival days appointed for them; these, if he had lived, would have brought back the Roman "fides, pudicitia, concordia, spes et clementia," as subjects of public worship, which Pliny mentions, sneering at such divinities.—*Nat. Hist.* l. ii. c. 5.

† In Thiebault's Original Anecdotes of Frederick II., among those who frequented this king's palace, it is mentioned that "La Metherie, the spouse of universal materialism, makes the sign of a cross when it thunders. Maupertuis, who does not believe in God, yet says his prayers every evening on his knees. D'Argens, a still firmer infidel, shudders if he counts thirteen persons sitting round a table. The Princess Amelia, the king's favourite sister, almost as much a philosopher and endowed with an intellect almost as strong as his own, is the dupe of fortune-tellers. Half of Frederick's court believe the story that a woman in white appears in the palace sweeping one of its rooms, when some one of the royal family is to die that year."

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For these reasons it is obvious, that the first theism of every new generation, would depend on the instructions it individually received from those among whom it came; and wherever the due knowledge was not effectually inculcated, folly and falsehood would prevail instead. As the right education declined, and the inventions of paganism arose, these became the adopted tenets of the neglected spirit; and thus a hopeless atheism would now be the universal governor of the human mind, if the Jewish and Christian revelations had not rescued human nature from such deterioration and unhappiness.* The belief in the creation of the world by an intelligent maker, has been chiefly upheld by these venerated documents; and although the belief has now become so naturalized in human nature and associated with so much of our science and literature, that our knowledge and libraries must be extinguished before it can again be obliterated, yet the generality of the impression, and the heart's attachment to it, will always most abound where the sacred writings are most diffused and studied.

Philosophy does not adequately feel, how much of all that is most valued by the enlightened, the benevolent, and the

Mr. Leigh Hunt mentions of Lord Byron, that he believed in the ill luck of Fridays, and was seriously disconcerted if any thing was to be done on that frightful day of the week. The idea of a supernatural fate overruling men appears in the writings of many German unbelievers; and the savage nations who have no notion of a Deity, yet believe in witchcraft, charms, and obys. A large list might be made of the superstitions of the anti-religionists, in all ages and countries.

* The influence of these is interestingly shown in the address of the Creek Indians to the President of the United States, on the intended unjust removal of the remains of their nation out of Georgia, "the land of their fathers." Unless the missionaries had been among them, they could not have used language like this in 1825, though they might have had some less definite feelings of the same sort:—

"We, the sons of the forest, have agreed to address you in the *language of the living*.

"Who placed in our delicious climate those lofty mountains, and planted the stately forests, which shelter our babes and our game? Who sends His rain and sunshine to fertilize our lands? Who distributes the flowing rivers that lead us to the sea of the mighty waters? The *ETERNAL* and *DESIGN* SPIRIT that walks on the face of the deep. He has placed us here. He gave us these lands as our inheritance; and that we might not be disturbed, he placed the whites in Europe. Offend him not; for, when it is his pleasure, his mighty power shakes the mountains as the wind shakes a leaf. His lightning blasts the stately forest. His thunder and his storms show the dreadful power of the Great Spirit"—British Press, 28th July, 1825.

upright, arises from these sources, and would disappear if they could be banished, and is always wanting where they do not efficaciously influence.*

The creation of the world is the fundamental truth from which all sacred history proceeds, and the absence of it in the mind leaves a chasm which what is pernicious will ever occupy, as it did heretofore. But this, when fixed as a principle within us, will lead us to consider all material nature as performing the motions, and existing in the arrangements which He who created, has designed and planned that in every part should take place. It moves in and to these, not by its own power, from any self-motivity; but solely as the agencies and forces which, in execution of the plan he directs upon it, cause, and impel, and guide it to. None of the motive forces in our system act from themselves, any more than the masses and substances which they influence. Matter has no mind, or thought, or will, or choice, or spontaneous motivity. It moves when moved, and continues in motion as long as the moving force is actuating it, and never moves but in the ratio and direction which that imparts, or which the combination or counteraction of the powers that affect it occasion, if more than one be operating upon it. All moving forces have their assigned laws and properties attached to them by their Creator. They have been specifically appointed by him to do what they have done and are still effectuating. They are mere instrumentalities at his command. They know nothing of the results they cause,

* The contrarieties of the human mind when it abandons its better Instructor are remarkable. Thus, as to the future existence of the soul:—In November, 1793, the Directory of the Department of Haute Marne ordered, that at the entrance of every burial-ground there should be a stone with this inscription, "Here is the abode of peace and ETERNAL SLEEP."—*Morn. Chron.* 2d Dec., 1793. This was highly applauded and imitated at Paris; yet, six months afterward, the day before he fell, ROBESPIERRE exclaimed, "No! Chaumette! no. Death is not an eternal sleep." Citizens! obliterate from the tombs that maxim engraved by sacrilegious hands, which throws a funereal crape over nature; which discourages oppressed innocence, and insults death. Inscribe there rather, "Death is the BEGINNING OF IMMORTALITY."—Robesp. Speech on 26th July, 1794; *Levasseur's Hist.* vol. iii. p. 234.

It was one of this same man's strong remarks in the convention, "He who defends atheism, gives absolution to superstition."—*Report*, 5th Feb. 1794. Six days before this he had said, "The fanatic covered with sepulchres, and the fanatic who preaches up atheism, very much resemble each other."

nor mean to perform any of them, nor could of themselves co-operate with each other, nor produce any systematical arrangement, or regulated or orderly effects. It is their Master and Maker who organizes, governs, and guides them to those movements and operations which they perform, and from all others; so that by his directing will they are made to do what we see them effect, and that only, because he restrains and averts them from all else. He limits, withholds, and suspends, as well as urges and enables. It is his sacred gratification to do so. His creations are obviously his delight. Their multiplicity is evidence of the pleasure he has taken in making them, for he would not have framed them if their formation had been irksome to him. Their conservation is equally an evidence that he continues to be gratified by them; and we may believe that if there can be a difference, it must be more pleasurable to a being of his benevolence to preserve and superintend than even to create. We therefore need not have the paltry idea of the ancients, that he could not exert a providence over mankind, because then he would be toiling and working like a fatigued and complaining human labourer.* Every active intellect among us knows and feels that it is a high enjoyment to exert its intelligent capacity. Nothing is so dreary as existence unemployed: nothing so self-wearying. It is the misery, not the blessing, of a thinking being, to have nothing to do.† We may therefore be satisfied, that his Divine Mind, possessing such energies of omnipotence, and having exerted them so multifariously, as the boundless universe with its hosts of being testify to us that he has done, can never be inactive. But

* Even Plutarch blames Plato and Anaxagoras for thinking that God encumbered himself with human affairs; "for, if he did so, what a wretched and evil being he would be (*κακοδαίμων*), subjecting himself like a workman or a mechanic to heavy burdens and anxious cares in the composition and government of the world."—Plut. Plac. Ph. i. i. c. vii. p. 162-3.

† It is a just idea of Mr. Lytton Bulwer, that "activity is the national characteristic of Englishmen." An expressive instance of this, and of the necessity of some employment to an active mind, occurs in Mr. Alexander's remarks on the English in Don Pedro's army, as it lay beleaguering Santarem in 1834: "Many of the officers before Santarem were sorely at a loss what to do with themselves. An officer of the English regiment rode *daily* to Cartaxo from Atalia; distance a league: walked up and down a dull street, and then returned to his quarters. 'If I were not to kill time in this way,' said he, 'I must go to sleep under a tree, or else shoot myself.'"—Un. Serv. Journ. 1834, p. 297.

as it cannot be at all times creating, it must be preserving, and actuating, and guiding, and governing all that it has formed. This view will make the moving forces of nature more interesting to us ; for we shall then feel that all their motions and operations take place in obedience to his designs and direction, and are always acting under his cognizance, and only as he empowers them, and that they are perpetually displaying his mind and purposes to us.

Our admiration of nature in all its kingdoms will increase as we cultivate these sentiments. Once settled in the conviction that matter is and does nothing of itself, but is and acts only as he has framed and ordained it, we shall see the Divine Mind in all the figures, movements, positions, causes, and agencies of terrestrial things.

The lightning, the storm, the vernal breeze, the flowers, the fruits, the river, the earthquake, the attracting and gravitating powers, all are but his will, and thoughts, and designs, put into action and representing these to us.

They show his intentions and determinations as to our portion of the universe ; and the rules and principles of these, which we can trace in the material phenomena, that from their vicinity to us we are able to examine, will be safe and useful guides in our study of his administration of human concerns, in which he has been at all times as operative, as in the world and system which we inhabit.*

These considerations lead us to some farther inferences. As nothing exists but what he has made, so whatever is subsisting, must be as he has chosen and determined that it should be. He was not driven by an overpowering necessity, as many ancients thought, to do the things which he

* Sir Humphrey Davy's sentiments are worth quoting on this subject.

"Man, acquainted with his real situation in the universe, has learned likewise to appreciate more distinctly his objects and the end of his creation. A mere atom on a small point of space, by his intellectual powers he has elevated his mind from the minute base of the earth unto the heavens, and has measured, and even weighed, masses many millions of miles distant from him ; and some of these invisible, except by instruments of his own invention. He has been able to account for those motions of the heavenly bodies, which at first appear disorderly, by constant laws.

"And as his science has become more perfect, he has seen more distinctly the order and the harmony of the system of things. He has found the whole of created nature to exhibit ONE VAST AND GRAND DESIGN of perfect intelligence ; one single and yet complicated work of unceasing beneficence and infinite power."

has done or is doing. This must be made an essential principle in our divine philosophy as well as in the sacred history of the world. An eternal fate, or senseless destiny, or irresistible necessity, commanding the Eternal Deity, and all creation, and all intelligent beings, and all human life, is an idea which is incompatible with either intelligence or omnipotence. It takes away reason from our minds, virtue from our lives, science from nature, and religion from the heart. It places over all and in all an iron mechanism of invincible force, compelling us and all things to do whatever is done, without any moral feeling, or intellectual consideration, or actuating judgment; a state which our daily experience is continually contradicting: yet some great names of antiquity are attached to the irrational supposition, as, indeed, they are to many things that the simplest among us would reject as absurdities. It is only to be lamented that any mind should now degrade itself with an idea so unmanly and self-depreciating.*

But its ancient and modern existence makes it more important to us to preserve our improved intellect from the contagion; and therefore never to forget that the Deity has no controller, but that all things exist solely according to his will and choice. All the powers, properties, and activities of nature and of man are those which, out of all others that were equally possible and practicable, he has selected to be attached to our system of things. Neither man nor animals have any qualities which have originated from any thing but

* By what process of mind the strange doctrine of the *αἰών* or necessity of a fate and superior force controlling and overruling the Almighty, came into the ancient world, I do not understand, but it has never since been obliterated. In some shape or other it is still perverting the human thought. Thales held that it governed the universe: *Αἰὼν κρατεῖ τὴ πάντων*. Pythagoras said that it encompassed the world. Parmenides and Democritus maintained that all things were according to it. Plato referred events partly to a providence, and partly to necessity. Empedocles made it an essence and an effective cause of all the principles and elements of things. Heraclitus taught, that all things were according to fate, and that this was the *αἰών* itself. Plato admitted it to be on human souls and lives, but that the cause was with ourselves. The Stoics, agreeing with Plato, deemed necessity to be an immovable and violently-operating cause, and that fate was a complication of arranged causes, in which concatenation we are so involved, that of what concerns us, some things are fated, and some not.—Plut. Plac. Phil. i. c. 25-27. A gloomy doctrine, always darkening and discomposing the mind that adopts it.

his will. Each has such, and such only, as he has devised and assigned to it. All are placed as he meant them to be circumstanced; the fish in the seas, the birds in the air, the beasts in their plains and forests, and the human kind, to walk on the surface of the earth and to till it, raise their food from it, and build their own dwellings on it for their use and comfort. The history of earthly nature, our sacred history, is thus a portion of the history of his own existence, and of his thinking mind.* Man, in his mode and order of being, is also the planned and appointed work of his Creator; all the laws of our frame, like those of the skies, and earth, and ocean, and all our qualities, powers, sensibilities, and activities, have been devised and established by the same wisdom and choice which have constituted the rest of the universe. Nothing has been left to chance; nothing has occurred unforeseen or unprovided for. An intelligent Purpose has directed hitherto the course of human affairs, and still guides and governs human nature. All is consistency in the economy of Divine Providence. There is no anomaly of neglect in one compartment, and of assiduous care in another.

Every portion of the stupendous whole, every order of beings, and every division of their varied classes, are alike the subject of his all-comprehending administration, and of that particular application of it, without which it would not be any administration at all. All care and government, all direction and purpose, must be individual to all intelligent existences, or are but words without use or meaning. What is general, is but a verbal expression for what is done for the larger number of individuals, whom the mind that uses it intends to signify by it. It is specifically done to each, or it is not done at all; but being similarly done to these, the uniformity of the operation on them, separately, constitutes the generality of which we speak. It is general only inasmuch as it does individually operate to this extent. A general law is therefore that which acts on every individual thing

* It was from impressions like these, that Plato, in one of his best effusions, said, "NATURE was but the art of God; his artificial machinery."—"Del artem, vel artificiosum Dei organon."—Socrates said to Euthydemus, "Let it suffice you that you see these works: adore the gods for these, and think that it is by these that they show themselves to us; you cannot behold their form."—Xen. *Απο.* l. 453.

that is comprised within its application ; for it is no law to that on which it does not operate. A general providence is therefore an individual providence—a providence acting on the same principles towards every individual that is subject to its agency. Under such a providence, the unceasing superintendence, direction, system, control, and regulation of that sovereign who has chosen to be the creator and governor of his human race, every individual of that race has been always living, while he has lived, and the course of human affairs been carried on ; and all for some designed ends worthy of him who has conceived them, worthy of him who has put them into execution, and who alone can accomplish, at his own appointed times, his magnificent conceptions. On these ideas our sacred history must be founded.

I press these observations on your attention, because, when I was young, I was led away from the true conception of the fact, by the terms “general laws,” and “general providence.” They are used when connected with the Deity, especially the latter, too much to take off our attention from their individual application, and by this means to make providence nothing but a verbal providence, and therefore no providence at all. But I now perceive that they have no meaning independently of their individuality. The term “general” can only mean the greater number of particulars, and therefore what is called a general law, is always acting specifically. It was made and meant to do so, and it never acts in any other way. If it cease to act specifically, it ceases to act at all, and is no longer a law, nor any acting force. The laws of magnetism are in constant action on every substance, and in every place where the magnetic power is, and on every atom which it affects in proportion to its amount. The great attractive law of nature is of the same character. Though it reach from the sun to the farthest planet, and controls all the vast masses which roll around, yet it is always operating on every particle of which they consist, as much as, indeed thereby, on their collective magnitudes. It is by always acting specifically, and on the greatest number of particulars, that any force or influence becomes a general law. Its generality subsists on this fact.

The general consists of a multitude of particulars. It is the number of its specific operations which constitutes its

generality. It becomes a general law, because it acts in so large a number of individual cases as to be entitled to that appellation. If it did not act on individual things, it would be acting on nothing, for all nature is composed of specific individualities. There are no general things. In no part of the world shall we find a general man or a general tree. No general laws have therefore actual generalities to act upon. The laws that concern a rose, act on and in every individual bush and flower of that vegetable. The laws that relate to man, are ever operating on you, me, and every living human being, high or low, rich or poor. Hence a general providence always means a providence that acts on and towards every existing individual. It cannot be otherwise than specific and particular to each individual. If it does not so act, it cannot be universal; and if general does not mean universal, it must signify at least that it individually embraces the far largest number. Divest it of its particularity, and you reduce it to a nonentity. There may be differences in the amount. It may be diminished or increased in its individual application, and the times of these modifications may vary. But it must never cease to be individual; in so far as it does so, its generality is withdrawn, and its actuality disappears.

Thus a general providence and a particular providence differ in their meaning only in the one being the collective amount, the united number of the other. The general providence never can exist without the particular providence, for, divested of this, it is a phrase without any signification at all.

Let this, then, be our ever comforting recollection, that we are all individually partaking of that care, notice, superintendence, and government, which only become general, because applied and extended to every one. We may be as sure that we are personal participators of the benefit of the providential administration of human affairs, as we are of the light and atmosphere, and of the daily food which the earth has been appointed to produce to us in its yearly revolutions. But if we are so now, so have been our predecessors. They equally have been under the same supreme guidance and government; and this certainty gives us an interest to consider what were the system and the laws under which, in its successive course, and in all their important movements and

concerns, fortunes and changes, it was from time to time applied to these, and, through them, to the individuals who were affected by them. All nations are more or less impressed with the belief of an observing and particular providence.*

Let us, then, assume it, as habitual principles of our intelligent thought, that we are living in a designed creation, and under the providential administration of that Almighty wisdom and benevolence, whose works and the character displayed in them, we surveyed in our former Letters. All the generations which have been before us on this earth, have been similarly circumstanced; and their history, contemplated in this view, and with reference to the divine plan from which it has originated, and according to which it has been conducted, becomes so far sacred history; for it will always present two impressive subjects to our consideration, the ideas and purposes of our Maker, in his creation and providential government of our race; and the results which have been evolved in the execution and development of his intentions and appointment.

For the more we reflect, the more we shall be persuaded, that specific designs, specific ends, and specific formations, are the characters of our terrestrial abode and of its successive populations, and were the guiding principles of its construction.

There could have been no compelling necessity that these should be such as we find them to be. As eternal Omnipotence can have no controlling superior, he could as easily have formed any other plan, and have established any other course of things, as that under which the generation of mankind have been ordained to rise and pass away. This possibility indicates, that both ourselves and our material system

* Sir Walter Raleigh has quoted the fine expression anciently attributed to Orpheus: "God is an infinite eye."—Hist. World, p. 16. This is the same thought which is so impressively expanded by the Jewish king: "Whither shall I go from thy spirit? or whither shall I flee from thy presence?"

"If I ascend up into heaven, thou art there. If I make my bed in Hades, behold! thyself is in it.

"If I take the wings of the morning to dwell in the uttermost parts of the sea; even there shall thy hand lead me.

"If I say, surely the darkness will cover me; the darkness and the light are both alike to thee."—Psalm cxxxix. v 7-12.

have been the choice, as well as the fabrication of his intelligence. Of all other conceivable schemes and productions, he has devised and selected those forms and laws of material nature, and those modes and characters of intellectual being, to be peculiar to our race and residence, which appear about us. What he preferred thus originally to make, he has also chosen still to uphold.

He has continued this stream and order of things down to ourselves; and this conservation announces that his creations are yet in accordance with his designs, and are operating to accomplish his premeditated results. If they were not, the fiat for their termination would have been issued, because nothing can exist against his will, or in defiance of his power. He permits the existence of whatever he does not annihilate, for his own reasons and purposes, however unperceivable they may be by our imperfect knowledge. All prayer and praise suppose that every thing is regulated by his will.*

On these ideas the sacred history of nature, and more especially the sacred history of man, must be founded. This must consist of what has been providentially designed and directed for his benefit. From his creation a system and a process have been in constant development and operation for his wellbeing, always tending to promote the moral and intellectual formation and advancement of human nature, generally and individually. These Letters will attempt to delineate such outlines of the plan which has been pursued, as my limited ability can discern; but what I shall fail to accomplish, others will more successfully elucidate; for there is no reason to doubt, that the intelligence which is distinguishing our age above any that has preceded, will not let this, the loftiest theme on which it can meditate, remain quite neglected by its inquisitive industry. We have been,

* The Lacedæmonian supplications to their deities were as laconic as their ordinary speech. Socrates in Plato informs us, that both in their public and private devotions they always uttered the same prayer, and this was, to give them what was becoming, as well as what was good. He says, "No one ever heard them ask for more."—*Plat. Alcib. ii. c. 8.* Plato has also preserved the prayer of an ancient, but unknown poet, which Socrates recommended to Alcibiades: "O king Jupiter! grant to us whatever is best for us, whether we ask for it or omit to do so; but keep from us what will be mischievous, though we should earnestly solicit it."—*Plato, ib. c. 4.*

perhaps, occupied rather too exclusively in observing and describing the details and minutenesses of material nature. It is right that these should be carefully studied, because we cannot have exact knowledge of things in any other way ; and they furnish the facts and grounds of the grander speculations. But still, with the earthly and the palpable, the heavenly and the intellectual should be associated. For the contemplation of the plans and principles of their magnificent Author, and of the means he has employed, and of the results which they have produced, will always be among the sublimest subjects of our thought, and a constant fountain of intellectual enjoyment ; and though we, who can rarely justly estimate the intentions of each other, whom we daily see, must always be very imperfectly qualified to criticise or appreciate the unrevealed purposes of the Almighty, yet we cannot err, if we always believe that the universal reason why any or every part and substance are what they are, will always be, because he has deliberately chosen, planned, and formed them to be so. Let this be the fixed deduction of our reason, and then it will be gratifying to the intellect to endeavour to comprehend the manner in which he causes what we admire or are studying, and to explore the reasons which appear to have actuated him in his ways as well as his works. The satisfaction will always increase with the success ; but there will be pleasure in the effort even where it is unavailing, because it is one of the laws assigned to our intellectual nature, that the true knowledge of him shall be attended with sweet and ennobling feelings ; and that every endeavour to attain it, reverentially pursued, shall be one of the most agreeable exercises of our thinking faculty.*

* Napoleon, at least, felt that religion was a pleasurable reality. He said one day to Las Casas, "Perhaps I shall again believe implicitly. God grant I may. I shall certainly make no resistance ; and I do not ask a greater blessing. It must, in my mind, be a great and real happiness."—Las Casas, v. iii. p. 201.

He seems to have retained his belief in the Deity ; for he also mentioned, "I never doubted the existence of God ; for if my reason was inadequate to comprehend it, my mind was not less disposed to adopt it. My nerves were in sympathy with the sentiment." Again, "We very properly believe in God, because every thing around us proclaims him, and the most enlightened minds have believed in him."—*ib.*

We like to know how kings and emperors feel on these great subjects, in which we all have a common interest ; but I own myself to be more

LETTER V.

Our Sacred History a part of that of the Universe, yet peculiar to ourselves—Other Worlds besides our own—Ancient Errors on this subject—Man a peculiar order of Being, only known to be on this Earth—His double Nature, and double state of Existence.

MY DEAR SON,

THAT the sacred history of our world must be a part of the greater sacred history of the universe, is as obvious as it also must be, that it cannot be supposed to be identical with it; for our earth is visibly not the whole of all things, nor can every other sphere be supposed to be a mere copy, or facsimile of it. We are only a portion of a multifarious creation, each orb in which has its own peculiar structure, with substances and living forms appropriated to that, and therefore as unlike those of every other, as their several natures and constructions may vary. But still, however numerous the existing orders of being may really be, we are all the subjects of one wondrous monarchy. We must, indeed, have that distinction from each other, which arises from every one possessing a state and system of things ap-

gratified with reading the following estimation of religion from a Northamptonshire peasant, born 1793, son of a labourer, like himself, written while he was a young man, working for others at seven shillings a week in winter and nine in summer, at Helpstone, near Stamford,—I mean JOHN CLARE.

“SONNET TO RELIGION.

“Thou sacred light, that right from wrong discerns!
 Thou safeguard of the soul! Thou heaven on earth!
 Thou undervaluer of the world's concerns!
 Thou disregarder of its joys and mirth!
 Thou only home the houseless wanderers have!
 Thou prop by which the pilgrim's woes are borne!
 Thou solace of the lonely hermit's cave!
 Thou only hope to sorrow's bosom given!
 Thou voice of mercy when the weary call!
 Thou faith! extending to thy home in heaven!
 Thou peace! Thou rest! Thou comfort! all in all!
 O SOVEREIGN GOOD! On THEE, all hopes depend,
 Till thy GRAND SOURCE unfolds his realizing end!”

Poems by John Clare, published in 1832, p. 204.

pointed to it, and not assigned to others. Each, therefore, subsists with a particular composition, and with a course of laws and agencies appropriated to it. From this circumstance, each must have a sacred history of its own, adapted to these, and proceeding from them, with which only itself is concerned; yet in the great principles of the divine care and government, we may assume that there is no difference between any.

Diversities will, however, begin, and will prevail in the modifications, rules, and nature of the events and operations by which these general principles will be severally applied. These will correspond in all with the peculiarities which distinguish them from each other; but as these variations in other orbs are unknown to us, we have no materials on which we can reason about them. They and we as yet have no acquaintance with each other; no mutual intercourse has in any age taken place between us, and therefore we can only perceive, that it is possible that some momentous relations may hereafter occur with them, when death shall remove us from our present home. We cannot prevent the mind from desiring this, nor, as we gaze upon their nightly radiance, from aspiring to it.*

There is an attraction in their sparkling lucidity which draws the soul upward to them, and nothing but the impossibility of our traversing the space between us keeps us from them. Could we navigate the atmosphere and super-ascending ether to them as we cross the ocean to Australia or Polynesia, how numerous would be our voyages to these celestial islands!† If our future bodies should be less affected

* In his interesting "*Somnium Scipionis*," Cicero represents the second of the great Scipios beholding in a dream his celebrated grandfather Africanus, appearing to him among the stars, and conversing with him: such a vision excited his wish to join him: "O pater sanctissime et optime! Why should I tarry on earth? Why may I not hasten to ascend up to you?"

"It cannot be so," answered he, "until that God, whose temple is whatever you are beholding, shall liberate you from the confinement of your body: there is no avenue to this region open to you. Mankind are born under the law which keeps them in that central globe which is called the earth: but a soul has been given to them: cultivate, then, integrity and piety. That life is the way to heaven (*via est in celum*); and to the society of those who, having so lived in their body, when they become freed from it, will dwell in this place which you are contemplating."—*Som. Scip. Cic. Op. v. li. p. 131.*

† We cannot, however, but smile at some of the strange fancies

by that gravitating force which now binds us to our surface, or should possess energies of motion which should be capable of overcoming it, the transit would be certain, if what we wished were then permitted to us. That we may have connexion and knowledge of their contents or inhabitants hereafter, has been the speculation and the hope of some of the worthiest minds which have shone in human life :* and although it will be always most natural to us all to think chiefly of the earth we are living on, and to cultivate attachments to it, as the scene and storehouse of our present pains and pleasures, yet it is not possible to many, and is as unwise in all as it is unnecessary, to confine our thoughts and wishes, exclusively, to its gratifications and pursuits.

We feel capable of something nobler ; we seem born for what is superior. Dreams, and whispers, and wishes, and imaginations of greater and better objects and occupations, frequently come uncalled into our consciousness : and it is then delightful to have any ground to recollect, that in our Almighty Father's house there are many mansions, and that we have been invited to reside in some of those which, though not cognizable now, are preparing for our hereafter. It is even pleasurable to think that we are in one of them only here, and that therefore there are many more to know. It then becomes a satisfaction to us to perceive, that we are here but as tenants, for a term of no long duration. We have, indeed, only a tenancy at will, and the option is not with ourselves to stay or quit when we think proper. But it is a consolation to remember, that the Lord of one is the

which have been indulged on this subject. In the voyage of Domingo Gonsales, the author, a learned bishop, seems rather seriously to intimate that aerial voyages are possible, "*because* locusts come to us from the moon, and because swallows, cuckoos, nightingales, and other birds that migrate from us, really fly up thither when they leave us, and particularly that a wild swan in the East Indies does so. If, then, a flock of these birds could be harnessed, they might carry up with them the weight of a man !" If we may invent our facts, we may support any theory. Yet our scientific Bishop Wilkins mentions this flight of his brother prelate, as if he did not quite disapprove of it.—Disc. New World, p. 160.

* Our really valuable Bishop Wilkins, whom I wish to mention with every respect for his love and cultivation of natural science, has made it his fourteenth proposition, and elaborately argued in its behalf, "That it is possible for some of our posterity to find out a conveyance to this other world ; and, if there be inhabitants there, to have commerce with them."—Disc. New World, p. 135-160.

Lord of all, and that every other home to us will be as much his world, as the present one which we are enjoying. There is enough around us here, to make us happy in the thought of being anywhere in his creation; and the sacred history of all that he has made and done for mankind, in the globe which he has here given us, will, as we become more acquainted with it, dispose us to rejoice that he takes upon himself to remove us from it to some other place of his own appointment, and at such period of our individual existence as he thinks most proper. Who that is wise would not rather leave the choice of both points to him, than exercise it for ourselves in such an ignorance of all beyond what we see, as every one of us must remain in, until our departure from it? Here the advice of the greatest Roman satirist comes appositely to us, which he expressed to his fellow-citizens, as their most prudent conduct towards their divinities:

"Leave them to manage for thee, and to grant
What their unerring wisdom sees thee want."^a

From our God we shall always have what is best for us, though it may not be what at the time would be most gratifying to us.[†] But we may intrust and desire his wisdom to be the judge and disposer in this respect for us; and upon the same principle of that exhilarating truth, which even Juvenal could discern, that the human race is even dearer to its Maker than we are to ourselves.[‡]

We cannot gaze upon the stars without the thought that the site of our future abode may be among them, however impossible it is here to ascertain its locality. The conviction of this uncertainty never destroys the hope. We admit that the home of the living dead is inscrutable to all who have not passed that bourn, from which no traveller has returned. We know that we shall change into invisibility when we die, from the natural invisibility of our living principle here. But the same mind which carries us now to the orbit of Uranus, and reasons upon the immeasurable space

^a Nil ergo optabant hominés? Si consilium vis;
Permites ipsis expendere Numinibus quid
Conveniat nobis, rebusque sit utile nostris.

[†] Nam pro jucundis, aptissima quoque dabunt Dii.

[‡] Carior est illis homo, quam sibi.—Juv. Sat. x. ver. 346—50.

and innumerable orbs that appear beyond it, pursues likewise the unseen spirit after it has withdrawn from the human eye, and believes that it is stationed and survives elsewhere.* It will be always laudable, as well as felicitating, to indulge this feeling, though we need not, like some of the ancients, presume to say where.† We leave the discovery of our future home to the time assigned for our becoming acquainted with it. The dead only know the destination and residence of the dead; they form a class of beings quite different from what they were in their earthly vitality, and the great secret remains with them as impenetrable as ever.

In the meantime it is quite sufficient for every present purpose of our existence, to know that we, like our forefathers, shall in due time be dismissed from what we are now sensorially connected with; and that, as our whole population here is but a section of a most multitudinous quantity of intelligent existence, scattered through myriads of other

* The great Cyrus is made by Xenophon thus to express this sentiment to his sons on his deathbed: "My children! respect each other, if you desire to please me. You should not think that I shall be as nothing when I have quitted my human life. You cannot indeed see my soul (*οὐδε μὲν ψυχὴν εὐρατε*); but from what it does now, you can perceive that it exists. O my sons! I never can be persuaded that my soul is living while in its mortal body, and yet perishes when it is separated from that. I see that it gives life to our frames while it is within them, and I cannot believe that it ceases to be intelligent, because the body becomes insensate. Being then more pure and entire by leaving it, the probability is, that it will be wiser than before. When the man is dissolved, every part returns to what is congenial with it, except his soul (*πάλιν τῆς ψυχῆς*); this alone remains, always moveable, as well while it is present here, as when it departs hence."—Xenoph. *Cyrop.* l. viii. c. 47. Cicero has quoted and translated this passage at the close of his "De Senectute," as if it had peculiarly gratified him.

† Socrates, in Plato's expansion of his last discourse before his death, places the pure earth we are to inhabit hereafter among the stars in the ether.—*Phed.* p. 170. He composes it of materials "more pure and splendid than those in ours; some are purple, of wonderful beauty, others of a golden colour, others whiter than snow."—p. 172. "The inhabitants live without disease, and far longer than we do. They excel us in sight, hearing, and understanding. They have groves and temples of the gods, who reside familiarly with them."—p. 173. The fancy more popular among the philosophers and others, seems to have been, that the moon was to be the residence of the disembodied soul; at first it is to wander for a time in a middle region, between the earth and the moon; wicked ones to suffer till they were purified, and then to go into her orb; "for the moon is the element of these souls; because souls resolve into her, as the bodies of the dead into the earth."—*Plutarch, de Facie Lunæ* 1184.

worlds, yet we all compose one family of one common parent. We have this affinity indelibly with each other, though we are not yet associated by personal acquaintance; and from this circumstance we may reasonably infer, that amid all our dissimilarities, there must be many analogies between us and them, which mark our grand paternal ancestry and our mutual kinship.

Yet still, as neither our natural nor our civil histories can be alike, neither can our respective sacred histories be more identified. They have each their own, and ours must be limited to ourselves. Theirs will be adapted to their distinct modifications of being, as ours has been to those which characterize our present nature, our social relations, and our connexion with the external world amid which we move and act.

But although our divine philosophy must relate principally to ourselves, it will be right to study it with the recollection, that our globe is but one of the uncounted hosts which surround the throne of our marvellous Creator; and that he is at all times the Sovereign Lord, the preserver and the benefactor equally of all. That he sustains them in being, as well as ourselves, we see by their continued existence; for, although some changes have been noticed by astronomical observers;* and the scientific assistances to our natural eyesight have enabled us, beyond expectation, to multiply their number, yet, as far as we can judge, the vast multitudes have remained in unaltered conservation, and in the same position and array in which they have in every age been seen.† We know, indeed, that they have not been thus steadily in their visible stations, because, as some ancient philosophers thought, they were fixed, like nails, in a solid

* Thus Hipparchus, about 135 years before the Christian era, saw a new star in the heavens (Pliny, l. ii. c. 24), which is the first of this description that has been recorded. In November, 1572, a second splendid appearance of this sort took place in Cassiopeia, which lasted till March, 1574, when it vanished from the sight. Tycho Brahe thought it to be 800 times bigger than the earth.—Tych. de Nova Stella. A smaller one was seen in 1596 in Cetus, and about 1600 another in Cygnus. Kepler mentions one in 1602 in Pisces; others have since appeared. In 1604 a new one shone, at first as bright as Venus, in Ophiuncus, which our good fathers thought had a certain reference to the next year's gunpowder plot.

† "Hipparchus," says Pliny, "dared to number the stars."—L. ii. c. 24. Ptolemy, above two centuries after him, enlarged his catalogue to 1,022 fixed stars. They have been since found to be above a hundred times this amount.

sphere.* Whatever they may be, they are floating in space or ether, as freely and as unpropped and unfastened as we are.

Mighty laws of suspension uphold those that never move, as others of revolution impel and guide such as circulate. But their continued appearance, and its unchanging uniformity, demonstrate to us that his power is as beneficently active towards them, as it is towards us ; and from the beginning of human consciousness at least, has always been so. Whether they preceded us in existence, or commenced when we did, we have not been informed, and therefore cannot know ; for nothing that is discernible in them, gives any mark of the chronology of their being. This absence of all indication of their date would be the same, whatever might be the greater or less degree of its remoteness. Their visible phenomena would be the same to us, whether they were created one hundred years ago, or one hundred thousand. It was therefore an egregious error of antiquity so boldly to pronounce that they had eternally existed :† an extravagance of supposition like that of encouraging man to think himself a god ;‡ poor, perishable, dependant and erring man, who owes every thing that he has or is to the only real Deity, by whose favours and blessings, specially given for that purpose, it is that his intelligent mind can make the acquisitions, and display the powers which have drawn down this unbecoming and exaggerated panegyric upon him ; a panegyric not left to be a word, because it was carried actually into operation when the Egyptians deified and worshipped their kings ; Greece, her heroes ; and Rome, her often half-mad and most frequently profligate, cruel, or common-minded tyrants ; and when even Cicero himself, who ex-

* It was the fancy of Empedocles, that the heavens were a solid mass of air, condensed by fire into crystal, and that the fixed stars were fastened into this crystal, while the planets were loose, and moved freely along.—Plut. Pl. Ph. l. ii. c. 11-13.

Anaximenes also thought that they stuck fast in the crystalline sky, like nails.—Ib. c. 14.

† The eternity of the heaven is the great doctrine of Aristotle, in his "De Cælo," and other works ; and Cicero calls the stars, "illis sempiternis ignibus" (those everlasting fires).—Som. Sc. 151.

‡ "Deum te igitur scito esse : siquidem Deus est qui viget, qui sentit, qui meminit, qui providet, qui tam regit et moderatur."—Cic. Som. Sc. 155. Phocylides declares, that after death mankind "will become gods" (*θεοὶ τελευτῶνται*), v. 99. So the golden verses of Pythagoras, "You shall become an immortal deathless god (*ἀθάνατος θεὸς ἀμρότος*), and be a mortal being no more."—Aur. Car. v. 77.

presses with such complacency the impious self-adulation, took some trouble to give his own daughter a participation of this venerated character.*

It is for us to be grateful to our Creator, for assigning to us a nature so wonderful, so improvable, so capable of excellences, and licensed to cherish such heavenly aspirations; but it is also for us never to forget our personal imperfections, our unworthiness in his sight, who knows so fully what he has done to raise us from it; our sinning actions and propensities, and our general unwillingness to correct them.†

It may therefore be made one of the first points of our sacred history, that the heavens, like our earth, contain numerous kingdoms, states, and beings; and though it pleased the ancients to consider our world as the centre of all existence, to which every thing had reference, and to make it also an actual Deity,‡ yet we must not for a moment suppose, that the human race monopolizes the attention or the regard of the Great Parent of all. Both the Grecian and Roman mind persisted in believing that our globe was in the middle of the universe, round which all the hosts of heaven continually revolved;§ and the oriental imagination has been so self-flattering as to deem it the most precious of all.||

* The instance of Cicero's making a little temple for the apotheosis, or deification of his daughter, was stated, from his own account of it, in my Mod. Hist. Engl. v. iii. p. 104, note 96.

“Lorenzo! swells thy bosom at the thought?

The swell becomes thee; 'tis an honest pride.

REVERE THYSELF; and yet, THYSELF DESPISE.

His nature, no man can o'errate; and none

CAN UNDERRATE HIS MERIT.”—Night Thoughts, B. vi.

‡ Plutarch says, “The name of the earth is dear and venerable to every Grecian, and it has been our custom, from our forefathers, to worship it (*σεβασθαι*) like any other god.”—*De Fac. Lun.* 1723.

Plato represents it as “the first and most ancient of the gods which are generated within the heavens.”—*Plat. Tim.* Tayl. p. 471.

§ The central position of the earth was so early an opinion, that Thales maintained it.—*Plut. Plac.* l. iii. c. 2. Plato, in his *Timæus*, teaches it; Aristotle likewise, *De Cælo*, l. ii. c. 14. The Alexandrian astronomers, Hipparchus, as well as Ptolemy also, though both Philolaus, and Aristarchus had maintained otherwise; and among the Romans, Cicero and Manilius assert it; and Pliny declares that, by “*baud dubiis argumentis*,” it is manifest “*medium esse mundi totius*.”—*L.* ii. c. 69.

|| The Cinghalese Raja Vali states, “There are an infinite number of worlds, whereof 100,000 lacs of worlds are more precious than the others, and 10,000 worlds are still more precious than these. But this world, called Magol Sakwell (the earth), is more precious than all the

This position and estimation of our state was indeed a prepossession very difficult to eradicate from the human mind. That the earth, instead of being fixed in the centre of the universe, was but a moving planet, like the others, was so strange an idea in England so late as the end of the reign of Charles II., that Bishop Wilkins makes the first proposition of the book he wrote to enforce it, to be, "that the *seeming novelty* and singularity of this opinion can be no sufficient reason to prove it erroneous."* A little before this, the same zealous prelate composed and published fourteen propositions to convince his countrymen that the moon may be a world,† though Orpheus had intimated the same truth above twenty-five centuries before.‡ But the natural fact was so immediately nullified by the infatuation of making it a divinity, that it never obtained a general credit. Orpheus himself led the way to this delirious absurdity,§ which continued down

rest." This book is translated in the *Annals of Oriental Literature*, p. 385.

* See "A Discourse concerning a new Planet, tending to prove that it is probable our earth is one of the planets."—By John Wilkins, late Lord Bishop of Chester. Lond. 1684.

† See his "Discovery of a new World, to prove there may be another habitable World in the Moon."—Fifth edit. 1684.

‡ Proclus has preserved these Orphic verses on this point.

"He constructed another extensive earth,
Which the immortals call Selene, and men the moon.
This has many mountains and cities, and many houses."

In Tim. p. 154.

§ In the Orphic Hymn to her she is addressed,—

"Hear me, O goddess queen! light-bearer!
Divine Selene!"

He calls her

—"Mother of Time!
Allwise virgin!
Save thy suppliants, O good virgin

Σωῖσσα τευς ικετας, ες λοκυρη.

The two last words of this line, ες λοκυρη, have given some trouble to the commentators, the word λοκυρη having no meaning. Scaliger proposed to strike them out, and Rhunkenius to alter them into δεο κυρη, and τευς into αγιως by which, Gesner says, he has mended versum desperatum feliciter, p. 191. These learned men seem to have missed an emendation which requires neither omission nor change. If we join the ες to the λοκυρη, we shall have the applicable compound εσλοκυρη, which will have the very probable meaning of "O good virgin!" from εσλος, good, Dorce for εθλος; it will then stand, as translated above,

Σωῖσσα τευς ικετας, εσλοκυρη!

to the days of Plutarch, and would have still prevailed if Christianity had not abolished it.*

The creation of the stars has been for purposes connected with themselves, and independent of our earth. But that they are seen by us, is a fact which proves that it has been one principle of the divine system, both in our and their formation, that we should, by their visibility, be prevented from considering ourselves as the only beings in existence. The other planets must, from the same cause, be under the same impression, and this result could not have occurred unless it had been specially provided for. The perception thus given to every one of the wonderful extent of creation, has been produced by causing each starry world to be an island in an immense ocean of what we call space; and by keeping this in such subtle tenuity or transparency, that it nowhere precludes our eyesight from receiving luminous sensations from these celestial orbs, although they are at a distance from us so prodigious as to be quite unascertainable. This system has the double effect of magnifying our conceptions of our Creator, and of precluding all disproportioned and inflated notions of ourselves; for if none of the heavenly hosts had been visible to us, how greatly would our ideas of him have been diminished, and how much should we not have misconceived the importance of ourselves, from the inference which would then have been unavoidable, that the human race composed the whole of existing nature.†

* Plutarch remarks, "The moon has not lost its divinity (το θειον), nor the sentiment of veneration for it."—*De Fac. Lun.* p. 1723.

† How prone the human mind has been to exaggerate its own importance and that of its little earth, we see from the opinions of such men as Seneca and the Stoics, who had, nevertheless, altogether, upon a fair balance of error and truth, a larger portion of sound mind than most of the other philosophers. Seneca says, what his school believed, "all the heavens, which the fiery ether, the highest part of the universe, includes; all those stars, whose number cannot be told; all this host of heavenly bodies, their sun running his course so near us, draw their nourishment from the earth (alimentum ex terreno trahunt), and share it among them; nor are they sustained by any thing else than by the breath of the earth (nec ullo alio quam halitu terrarum sustinentur)."—*Nat. Quest.* l. vi. c. 16.

Only 200 years ago, Dubartas found this old opinion still so favoured and maintained, as to think it necessary to attack it in his poem on Creation. The passage is thus translated by Sylvester:

"And therefore smile I at these fable forgers,
Whose busy, idle style, so stiffly urges

Of the planets which are connected with our sun, two of them, Mars and Venus, are the most likely to have on them animated beings of some analogy with those which inhabit our earth. They are sufficiently near the sun to have several resemblances to us; but yet our men of science distinguish so many diversities, that we cannot positively infer that their population has the same bodies of flesh and blood, as invest our vital principle here.

No identity with a nature like ours can be presumed as to the inhabitants of Mercury, on account of its greater proximity to the solar radiance: nor as to those of Jupiter, Saturn, and Uranus, because their remoteness and discernible peculiarities imply great dissimilarities to us and to our globe: neither can their vegetable animals, if any, be the same as ours. Hence their external worlds must be unlike that from which we derive our sensations and our knowledge. They must severally have modes of being, component parts and substance, impressions, ideas, and inclinations, very different from all that we are conscious of here. Yet they may, notwithstanding this diversity of their natures, be sentient and intelligent beings. We cannot deny this probability, though we are entitled to infer that they do not feel and act as we do; if they reason, it must be on ideas we do not possess; if they think, it cannot be on the subjects which occupy our thoughts. Their sensations will be the materials of their mental powers, and these must be taken from their own external worlds, and not from ours.

Their desires and pursuits will correspond with the impressions they receive in their respective abodes, as ours arise from the objects on our surface; and thus we and they must be unlike each other in knowledge, habit, and nature, whatever kind of beings they may be.

From these reflections, we seem to be justified in con-

The heaven's bright sapphires to be living creatures,
Ranging for food, and hungry fodder eaters;
Still sucking up, in their eternal motion,
The earth for meat, and for their drink the ocean.
Nor can I see how earth and sea should feed
So many stars, whose greatness doth exceed
So many times (if star-divines say troth)
The greatness of the earth and ocean both;
For here our cattle in a month will eat
Seven times the bulk of their own bulk in meat."

Sylv. Dubautas.

sidering it to be another principle of the divine economy under which we live, that there shall not be human beings at present anywhere but on this earth ; for it is the peculiar construction and position of our planet, its substances, organized classes, laws, and course of things, which, with our bodily frame and figure, combine to make us what we are. These not being the same in any other orb above us, human nature must be distinguished by their effects, from all other modes of sentient existence. In the bony, arterial, fleshy, and nervous systems of our frame, we resemble the birds and quadrupeds about us. But our configuration, limbs, and motivities, have no parallel among these, but transcend them with a superiority that never can be lessened, except by that wilful debilitation and self-degradation, which gross sensualities or habitual intoxication cannot be continued without producing.

It is also a part of the system of our creation, which we do not know to prevail in any other orb, that we consist of a double nature, united in a temporary and dissoluble union, but which never ends until our present life closes. It is this association of our spirit, or thinking principle, with the material body into which we grow, that constitutes human nature. It is the continuance of this combination which makes our human life ; it is the termination of it which causes death. Though eastern stories amuse our imagination with some magician characters, who can dart their soul into other bodies, abandoning for a time their own ; yet this, in sober truth, we know to be impossible. The union of the reasoning and feeling mind with the corporeal form that we are born with, is inseparable while we live. Not even a trance, or a deathlike fit, or any suspension of our senses or sensibility, is a parting of the one from the other. All such phenomena are but a recession of the principle of life and sensation, from its exterior organizations into its interior functions. But the fracture of the combination is in all cases death ; and, once taking place, can never be remedied by mortal power. It is the appointed law, that the union shall form human nature, and its subsistence be human life. There is no life until it takes place, and none after it is severed. When the combination is dissolved, the body decomposes into its component elements, which it could not do while its living principle was within it. This, on its separation, departs, we know not

whither. Being no subject of our sight or other senses in any other individuals, we cannot, though watching at their deathbed, trace its movements when it becomes disunited from their material forms. And as we shall necessarily lose the power of utterance when such an event shall occur to ourselves—for, in leaving the body, it quits the nerves and muscles of its vocal organs—no communication can be made of what is taking place at that eventful moment.

It is from revelation alone that we can derive any knowledge of what awaits us, when we thus die away from our fellow-beings here; and it is the glory and happiness of human nature, that it is distinguished by having from its Creator the promise of another existence, different from its present one, in a new form of body, and in some other locality, and in a new external world. Thus it is another part of our scheme of being, that we shall have a double life, as well as a double nature; but with this distinction, that the body with which our living principle is here connected, is only to be temporary and dissolvable, but that the frame in which our double nature will be renewed to us hereafter, will be imperishable, and as everlasting as the spirit itself.

Thus it has been planned and appointed, that human nature and human existence shall have in every one this striking peculiarity, that its conscious life shall be divided into two unequal portions, separated by death in this world from each other. One part, the smallest, our present life; the other part in some future state and region, as it shall be assigned to us hereafter, which will not be interrupted again. The body we have now is adapted to the transiency of our present existence, and its durability is therefore purposely made brief and uncertain. The next investment of our living principle must be as different from our present one, as the quality of immortality is from fragility, disunion, and decay.*

* The great principle as to our future life, that we shall there again assume our double nature, and be a body and soul, was one of the new truths established in the human mind by our Saviour and his apostles. There are many indications that most of the Christian doctrines had been more or less intimated to the primeval times, but were superseded by others of human invention. Thus this idea of the soul being reunited to a body, pervaded the whole ancient Egyptian nation, as every mummy testifies to us; but they lost the truth of the re-formation of the body into a superior kind from the elements of the present one, at the final resurrection, to be the resident of the celestial kingdom appointed for us.

We do not know that any other orders of intelligent beings are living anywhere else under such a system as this. For any thing that we know, human nature may be the only class in the universe which has this peculiarity. We have no reason to believe that it has been made a law with any residents in the other planets or stars, that their existence shall be divided into two unequal portions, like ours, and that these shall be separated from each other by a destruction of their first material form. We do not indeed know that they possess a compound form like our own; for if they do not, then they cannot experience that change which our death brings upon us. Our death is attached to our material frame, not to our spirit. It is the dissolution of our present body; the separation of that from our living principle or soul: it is not the destruction of that living principle; therefore no being that is not, as we are, compounded of a material form, and of a vital principle, can be subject to a death like ours.

The consideration of these laws of our system of being, will prevent us from letting the immensity of the universe, and of its Creator, induce us to think too meanly of human nature; and from leading us to feel, as some have done, that the whole human race are but contemptible emmets in his sight, and too inconsiderable to be honoured with the smallest portion of his attention. Ancient thinkers had some ideas of this sort.* It is a favourite topic still with many

and chose to believe instead, that the soul was to live again on this earth after a period of 3,000 years, and to reanimate its former habitual body (Herod. Eut. s. 124); and therefore they embalmed this as it died, and preserved it carefully, to be ready for this re-union, as they did their cats and some other animals. This opinion was so fixed, that no pledge for a debt was so good a security, or so sure of being redeemed, as the mummied body of a parent or relation.—Diod. Sic. 8. This idea of a bodily resurrection or reconstruction, was so new and incredible to the Grecian and Roman mind, that both at Athens and by the Roman governor, Paul was derided for inculcating it. Both the Epicurean and Stoic philosophers exclaimed, "What will this babler say?"—Acts xvii. 18.

* Some of their theories could not but lead them to very low estimations of human kind. You will remember the "*cum propeperunt*" of Horace: When men crawled out of the first earth, like animals, "*a mutum et turpe pecus*"—Sat. lib. iii. It was the dogma of Anaximander, "that men were first produced within fishes, and were there nourished like their young fry, as the ancients thought; but afterward, when they had acquired strength able to defend themselves, they were ejected out of the fishes' belly on to the land. Hence he affirmed fish to be the parents of mankind, and therefore condemned our feeding upon them."—Plut. Sym. l. viii. c. 8. The Grecian sage was at least as wise

who doubt or disbelieve a providence, and I have known some valuable minds to be much affected by such an impression. In opposition to this, let us advert to the probability, for the reasons which have been adduced, that there are no human beings in the universe but on our globe. And if not, then the special creation of them on our earth only, is an indication of some special design in our existence, and a reason for the particular notice and care of our Creator. But the absence of all certainty that there are intelligent beings superior to us in any of the radiant orbs we see, or anywhere else, except the ministerial angels, who are always exhibited as in immediate attendance on the Sovereign of all, or in the execution of his commands, should also operate to hinder us from concluding, that there is any thing in creation that is likely to divest us of the regard and care of our provident Maker, or that has any natural claim to preferring consideration from him, or that can make us less important in his sight than any other of his works. Distrust all philosophers who inculcate such ideas; and be on your guard against those who separate nature from its God, or teach its laws and phenomena without reference to him. Philosophers are as apt to err, in many of their opinions, as other people, and have continually been doing so.*

in this as the Egyptian theorists were, who deduced human creatures from the mud of their Nile, or as the Arcadians and Athenians, from the earth; for these believed that they sprung out of the ground as they thought grasshoppers did, and therefore wore one of these insects as an ornament in their hair, made of gold and silver. So the Babylonians were taught, that from chaos arose first hideous beings—men with two faces and wings; one body, but two heads; other human figures, with the legs and horns of goats; some with half the body like a horse; others with the heads and bodies of horses, and tails of fishes.—Berosus. Sync. Ch. 228; Cory's Anc. Fr. 24.

* Pliny gives us an amusing instance of something more than an erroneous opinion in his account of Dionysodorus. "I will not omit this paramount example of Grecian vanity: he was a Melian, distinguished for his geometrical science, and died in his own country in old age. His relations, to whom his inheritance descended, buried him, and a few days afterward declared that they had found in his tomb a letter, written in his name to those above. It stated, that he had gone down from his grave to the lowest part of the earth, and that his passage had been 42,000 stadia. GEOMETRICIANS were not wanting (*nec defuere geometræ*) who inferred that this epistle had been sent from the centre of the earth, and expressed the farthest space from that to the surface; from which computing, they pronounced that the earth was 252,000 stadia in circuit."

—Plin. Nat. Hist. l. ii. c. 112.

Which shall we most admire? the strange and palpable imposture, or

LETTER VI.

Sacred History comprises the Plan, the Purposes, and the Results of the Divine System, as to Mankind—Outlines of the Great Events which have accrued in Human Affairs.

THE sacred history of the world, as it relates to mankind, may be considered under three divisions of our inquiry. The PLAN on which it has been carried on; the REASONS and PURPOSES for which that particular plan has been adopted, and its execution pursued; and the RESULTS or ends which have already been accomplished by it, or which seem evolving from it.

Our knowledge of the PLAN must be derived from a study of the events which have taken place; for it is in these that it will be indicated, as the movements of a great army, and their consequences and effects, enable the attentive observer to perceive the scheme and objects of the commander in the conduct of his campaign.

That a plan has been devised and selected by our Creator for his human world, and steadily acted upon by him in the course of its affairs, seems to be as certain as any fact that is deducible from what we know of him, and from its analogies with the certainties of his physical creations. We assume that our material world has been a reasoned production of his intelligence. But if so, then human life, and the concerns which most affect it, must be directed and governed by him, because the inorganic portions of our earthly system have been visibly made with express reference to what is living and sentient; and all that is so has been manifestly formed with a peculiar consideration of man, the most sentient and intellectual of all. But nothing was more requisite to his welfare and intellectual improvement, than that the great incidents of his social history, and of the course of his earthly life, should be such, and be from time to time so regulated, as to prevent his destruction or degen-

that any ancient mathematicians, men whose leaders we are so accustomed to revere, should seriously calculate upon it as authentic information?

eration ; to lead him to increasing knowledge , to counteract the errors of his own ignorance and evil excitations ; and to trace and educate his moral sensibilities and mental capacity. That a deliberated plan, and a careful execution of it, has been as necessary to human nature as to the planetary system, I cannot doubt.

This is one of the conclusions which follow from our being the creation of a God of thought and knowledge ; and from our perception of that omniscience, that wisdom, and that benevolence, which are so visible in what he has made.

It is impossible for my mind to believe, that man was abandoned by his Maker as soon as he was created. So much intellect as appears in the construction of the universe, could not act so capriciously nor so malevolently. We need his direction and care far more than the material world ; and nothing essential to our wellbeing can have been withheld by such a Creator. I rely upon the certainty that he always acts consistently with his own nature, and never in contradiction to it. We can already discern enough of him to be satisfied of his moral perfections and transcendent sagacity. These may assure us, that human affairs have been from their commencement a superintended subject of his foreseeing care ; that he has wise designs and gracious ends in all that he directs and causes ; and that the course and conduct of all that relates to human kind, have been, in due succession, justly regulated on a plan of wisdom and benignity, ever promoting and producing the appointed results. These results, like the plan, must be sought for in the actual events and consequences which have taken place.

But his REASONS and PURPOSES in the adoption and prosecutions of his plans, are more difficult of discernment. There is such a largeness of extent, such a multiplicity of operation, such a combination of minuteness with vastness, such a gradation of process, and such a reference from the present to the future, which it prepares and produces, in all that he does, that wherever he has not revealed his intentions, human inference and conjecture can but faintly and imperfectly supply the deficiency of the given information.

We can but do in this, as with the fabric of general nature. We must observe, reflect, reason, and infer. It cannot be unlawful for us thus to endeavour to trace his reasons and his meanings in his ways any more than in his works ; and

it never will be either an undesirable or an improper exercise of the mind to do so, if we pursue the inquiry in a reverential and deferent spirit, and do not attempt to assert our individual notions to be unquestionable truth. Our best conclusions will still be but our own single judgment, and must be always left to the consideration of others, how far they are likely to be true. The greatest point will be to take care, that they be always in accordance with that which alone is authority on such topics. The sacred volume must be our compass and our intellectual pilot in these : nothing that is in contradiction to this, in what concerns the laws and dealings of its grand object towards mankind, ought to be regarded as entitled to our belief. It is my earnest desire that my inferences should never be at variance with it, as it is the only safe guide we can obtain on such subjects. Divested of this, we should have no criterion of any truth upon them ; but every thing would be in as much doubt and obscurity, as it was in the days of Carneades and Epicurus : and our opinions on God and nature, if it had not enlightened the human mind, would have continued to be as absurd as they were, before the dissemination of divine truth had given new light to the judgment, new principles to the reason, and new motives and sympathies to the human heart.

A new form of human nature from that time began to arise, in individual after individual, which enlarged in every subsequent age, until it attained those new features which distinguished the sixteenth century, and which have been increasing in beauty, dignity, and expansion ever since. Compare now the enlightened men of Europe with those of the greatest nations of antiquity, and you will find the contrast to be most striking.*

* The Phenicians were distinguished before the Greeks, who derived their letters from them ; and yet the Tyrians, when attacked by enemies, *chained* the images of their gods to their altars, that they might not abandon their city. Others, when they sent their divinities to be washed, or to undergo a purifying lustration, exacted sureties for their return. The Romans, as wise, are alleged by some of their historians to have had chants and incantations, by which they could draw away to themselves the gods of their enemies.—Plut. Rom. Quest. c. 61.

Anaxagoras, Democritus, and Metrodorus, thought the sun a mass of iron, or a stone on fire.—Plut. Plac. l. ii. c. 20. Anaximander talked of his having respiration, c. 21. The Stoics mentioned his passing through a tract for *his aliment* ; and this was the ocean or the earth, on whose exhalations *he feeds*, c. 23.

On surveying the events of human history from the creation, the great outlines of what has occurred to mankind in the ages before us, may be distinguished into some general heads, of which the following shall be the first subjects of our consideration.

The geological construction of the body of the globe, as

The Pythagoreans believed the moon to be inhabited, but maintained that the living creatures in it were much larger than ours, and at least fifteen times stronger. The plants also as much more beautiful, c. 30. While Plutarch himself thought that our souls were made out of the moon, and would therefore return to it. He disclaims the imputation that he thought the moon to be dead matter, without either soul or mind, p. 1723. He also tells us that some think its inhabitants hang by the head to it, or, like Ixion, are tied fast to it, that its motions may not shake them from it; and that it ought not to seem surprising that a lion fell out of it into the Peloponnesus.—*De Fac. Lun.* v. lii. p. 1728.

As to the stars, Anaxagoras supposed the sky in its revolution to catch up stones from the earth, and then setting them on fire, they became the stars. While Xenophanes contended that they were inflamed clouds, quenched during the day, and lighted again like coals every night, and that this explained their setting and rising, c. 13. Archelaus made them red-hot earthen plates.—*Stob. Ed.* c. 25. p. 53. Heraclitus insisted that they were living creatures, nourished by exhalations from the earth.—*Plut.* l. ii. c. 17. Aristotle asserted that celestial bodies did not require nourishment; but Plato thought the stars did receive it.—*Ib.*

In like manner Seneca says, "From the earth arise aliments to all animals, to all plants, and to all the stars. Hence it is that so many stars are maintained; as eager for their pasture as they are hard worked both by day and night."—*Nat. Qu.* ii. c. 5. Lucan says, "*We believe that the sun and pole feed on the ocean.*" Pliny had no doubt about it. "*Sidera, vero, haud dubiè, humore terreno pasci.*"—*L.* ii. c. 6. And even Ptolemy mentions that the body of the moon is moister and cooler than that of the other planets, from the vapours that are exhaled to it out of the earth.—*I* Apostel.

We have arraigned the fathers and some bishops for opposing the Antipodes; but Aristotle and Pliny alike denied them. So did Lucretius. So Plutarch makes one of his speakers ask, as a great falsehood, "Do they not say that it is inhabited by Antipodes, who cling to it by the lower parts of their bodies, like worms or cats?"—*De Fac. Lun.* 1703.

We laugh at some modern savages who, with drums, and cymbals, and shoutings, make all the noise they can when the moon is in an eclipse, to hinder some supposed monster from devouring it. But the Romans were not more philosophical; for they thought the moon was then in maternal labour, and sounded all their brazen instruments, and presented to her all the fires they could make by torches and lamps, to ease her in her sufferings.—*Plut. Vit. Emil.* Propertius alludes to this. So does Ovid, *Met.* l. iv.; and Pliny, l. ii. c. 12. It must have continued almost down to Juvenal's time, as he alludes to it,

"Jam nemo tubas atque æra satiget;
Una laboranti poterit succurrere Lunæ."

Sat. vi. v. 44.

it was to remain as long as the earth should last ;* and the formation of its primitive surface, and the superincumbent atmosphere, into that state which would best suit the nature and condition of mankind, as the Deity meant them to be in the first period of their existence, with a vegetation and animal system corresponding thereto, were first completed.

This completion was accompanied by the selection of a particular part of the surface to be a garden of great beauty and abundance, with every plant and tree that would most please and gratify the eye and taste, in order to be the first residence of the created pair of human beings, from whom, in due time, all others were to descend ; but this place was to be their abode only so long as they should choose to obey him, and be guided by him.

The next events were, the removal of Adam and Eve, upon their disobedience, from their garden of Eden into the general world ; and the descent of two races of human beings from them, one of which began with an ancestor, who, having destroyed his brother, separated from his paternal family, and became the founder of a distinct population. With these the first arts that are noticed originated. This line in time became united with the other, but the improved civilization of both led to such a relaxation of all the moral duties, that the social world became full of violence and corruption, and the termination of this state and mode of existence of human beings, was resolved upon and effected by their Creator, by the instrumentality of a universal deluge.

By the operation of this destructive revolution, the ancient surface and state of the earth were changed, and a new surface was in most parts imposed, suited to the existence of the renewed human population, for the production of which one chosen family was specially reserved.

But this new population of the earth was appointed to begin under new laws of nature, both in themselves and in external things. An essential modification of their own vitality took place in the contraction of human life to one tenth of its former duration : and great alterations in the condition and agencies of the material world must have followed the deposition and distribution of the new rocks and

* Genesis ix. v. 11.

surface, which were to be the habitable land for the fresh human race as it should gradually multiply.

While these terrestrial changes were taking place, the arrangement began under which mankind have been ever since subsisting; and this was, that they should not grow up, as they themselves desired, in one dense and united population, occupying only one country or locality; but that, against their will, they should be separated into various families or portions; and that these should separate from each other, and settle in parts of the surface, at various distances from each other, and there become the heads or founders of distinct tribes and nations.

These dispersed colonies, or little masses of separated populations, were kept in this state apart from each other, and made to remain so by the cessation of one general language, and by the rise and use of dissimilar words or forms of speech peculiar to each community, which went on to increase instead of lessening, as the numbers of mankind were multiplied.

These diversities of the human population were so stationed and acted upon as to form two grand divisions of human nature, mind and manner. The one a chain of settled and civilized nations originating from each other, or connected by mutual communication and intercourse: the other, a wilder and moving series of tribes in that which we call the uncivilized condition, keeping aloof from amity or intermixture with each other, and having peculiar characters of mind and body, different from the more quiet and cultivated populations.

Among the settled nations, the Egyptians, the Assyrians and Babylonians, the Phenicians, Persians, and Greeks, the Carthaginians and Romans, succeeded each other in advancement and celebrity, while the Chinese, who grew up in a particular corner of the earth, and the Indian nations likewise, gradually rose into number and civilization. All these chiefly resided in Asia, or in those parts of Europe which are connected with it by the Mediterranean Sea.

The uncivilized were, in the meantime, led into Europe, and there became known as the Cimmerians, the Scythians, and the Sarmatians. In time, from the Cimmerians, arose the barbaric population of the British island, and of some parts of ancient Gaul, and the Cimbri of the Baltic; while

from the Scythians proceeded the numerous tribes which formed the German and Gothic nations ; and from the Sarmatians, the Slavonic ones.

Each of these grand divisions of mankind, both settled and uncivilized, underwent great changes and vicissitudes. The earlier civilized were in time conquered by those of later civilization. Part of the barbaric nations were subdued and incorporated by these. Other portions of the wilder were fostered and increased in that condition, until they were enabled to become the conquerors of the civilized : and at length a new state of mankind was produced by the destruction of the vast Roman empire, and by the establishment, all over it, of new kingdoms and nations of a character different from all which had preceded, and from these the present highly improved state of human nature has eventually arisen.

Now I submit to your judgment, on this outline of the great features of human history, which the events that have occurred to mankind thus far exhibit to us ; and looking also at the present results and at the prospects which arise out of them, as to the future condition of human society in this world, whether there is not the aspect of a progressive, connected, and effectuated plan, the issue of which, up to the present moment, displays itself to us in most impressive and interesting characters. Is it not quite reasonable to say, that human existence is now in a far superior state to what it was when the classical nations flourished ? and can we hesitate to believe that their mental and social activities and condition have powerfully contributed to make us what we are ? and that human nature would not have become what it now is, if the preceding nations had not existed, and felt, and thought, and acted as they did ? Are we not the result of that train of human incidents and operations, as far as such things influence, which have been anterior to us ; and if so, have not these had the effect of causative agencies upon us ? In this view, is not human history a series of successive causations and their successive results ; and does not such a series carry its own testimony with it, of a gradually evolved and executed plan ; and are we not entitled, as rational beings, perceiving in our own plans and actions what a designing mind and a designed scheme and system are, and that these always display a reasoning mind and an intelligent will effectuating its reasoned purposes and appointed ends—are we not, I say, en-

titled to consider the train of the grand events which signalize human history, as the development and accomplishment of a previous plan, whose continual object has been the improvement of human nature, and through which this great and benevolent end has been gradually advancing by a graduated progression? The present result proves the fact of the progression; and from this the sound inference of the mind appears to be, that a wisely formed and powerfully executed plan has produced what we see around us. Surely this is what we cannot but admire, if we judge on sufficient knowledge and with an impartial temper.

But I have not yet mentioned a still grander compartment of the great providential scheme for the formation, melioration, and completion of the moral and intellectual nature of the human branch of the magnificent creation. Here also I will only trace the outline of the facts, that they may stand clear of the reasoning with which we shall attempt afterward to elucidate them. The subjects which I here allude to are, the formation and peculiarly-conducted history of the Jewish nation; and the connected, consequential, and gradually-diffused dispensation of the Christian revelation. The first, meant to be temporary and limited in its locality, though with effects largely emanating from it, was also directed to prepare the means and materials for the introduction and dissemination of the second: and that second, surmounting all competition, as the human mind expands and improves, has rooted itself in our intellectual nature, and is now visibly advancing, to become, according to all prospective probabilities, the sacred monarch of the world.

The Jewish nation began by the selection of an aged Chaldean, about four hundred and twenty-seven years after the flood, and above three centuries after the dispersion of the renewing population, to be the founder of the intended new nation. Several communications are stated to have been made to him from the Deity; and he was induced to visit Egypt, the chief nation of the earth at that time, and was there brought into familiar intercourse with its sovereign; so that whatever had been imparted to him more than to others, he had this opportunity of making known to this civilizing people. He was also led to distinction among the princes of Palestine; and he became, in his son Ishmael, the ancestor of one of the most distinguished nations of the

east, which has most largely acted on the human mind, and whose descendants are still surviving in a very remarkable condition ; I mean the Arab people.

From his other son, the promised Isaac, another population branched off, who have also been of great importance in ancient history, and probably with more ramifications than we can now ascertain, the Edomites, or Idumeans, the red people of the east. Other stems of oriental population also sprang from his six children by his second wife, who were sent to settle in the countries east of Palestine, and thus to carry, where they colonized, the moral and intellectual improvements which the mind of Abraham had received from the divine communications and intercourse that he had experienced.

It is important to notice this diffusion of his posterity, because in that we see, that whatever was specially made known to him was not confined to himself, but was conveyed by natural causes and channels to the most important regions and populations then on the globe. He was therefore like a fountain, from which all his improvements streamed exclusively to the world around him.

It was from the grandson of this chosen patriarch that the Jewish nation more immediately sprang, through his twelve sons, who became the ancestors of the twelve tribes of Israel. Here also it was the directed course of events that Egypt, as the great civilizer of the human race at that period, should participate in all the benefit of the supernatural communications which this grandson and his family received ; for his son Joseph was led from his abode to become gradually the viceroy or grand vizier of Egypt, and under miraculous circumstances ; so that the Egyptian mind fully shared in the sacred knowledge which had designedly been given to the Hebrew race. Still more to improve that mind which was to become the instructing mind to Greece, and to all the other regions with which Egypt had dealings, the descendants of Abraham were stationed in this country under the patronage of its favouring king ; and here for three centuries remained, till they had enlarged into a multitude, which excited the jealousy and oppression of its later sovereigns.

The attempts to destroy them were frustrated by an extraordinary interposition of the Supreme ; and then began a train of events which were equally a revelation of himself to

the Egyptians, and to the subjected nation who were now emancipated and conveyed to the Arabian desert. In this they remained forty years, receiving momentous instruction from heaven, with which, as they moved from place to place, all the neighbouring nations had sufficient opportunities to be acquainted.

Their forcible settlement in Palestine, expressly for reasons which brought before the human mind in these civilized countries, the great points on which it was debasing itself and offending the only divine power that really existed, placed them at first in collision, and afterward led them into occasional amity with the various states and kingdoms in this part of the world, the most civilized and improved next to that on the Nile. To these they were at times under subjections of some duration; and thus the important Phœnician nation, the great colonizer of the islands and seacoasts of ancient Europe, was brought into full knowledge, and abundant opportunities of intercourse with that particular race, who were made the recipient and the repository of all the divine communications, which in the ancient world were imparted to mankind.

By thus mixing them in momentous transactions, from time to time, with the leading nations of the world, and with the main sources of all its civilizations and improvements, the Hebrew people were made the instrument of benefit to others, while they were made to fulfil the purposes for which they were specially designated. This plan was continued through all the rest of their history.

Their most celebrated and active kings were in friendly communication with the sovereigns of Tyre, Egypt, Syria, Assyria, and Babylon, until this latter state, raised suddenly to predominant power by a native Napoleon of that day, destroyed the Jewish kingdom in its last surviving branch. But here also provision was made for the benefit of the new Babylonian empire, by the residence of the chief survivors of the Jewish nation in or near its capital for seventy years. When the Persian sovereignty was established, its first kings of the conquering race favoured the return of the Jews to their native land, and one of them had a Jewish queen and prime minister.

The nation became afterward a province of the principal Macedonian kingdom, and was so intermixed with the Gre-

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cian world, that their Scriptures were translated into the Greek language by the desire of an Egyptian king of the Macedonian dynasty. By this version, the whole that was known and there recorded of the Deity and of his transactions with his selected nation, was laid open to all the intellectual world, as it was thus put into a language which was at that time as universal as civilization and literature. When the Roman empire spread its dominion from Europe into Asia and Africa, and was comprehending the great majority of mankind under its sceptre, Judea became one of its provinces, and soon excited its peculiar notice. Struggles ensued as to the admission of the imperial images into its temple, which brought its religious opinions into discussion with the Roman statesmen; and at last that dreadful war took place which subverted their magnificent temple and national government for ever, and compelled them to seek for life and safety by dispersing into foreign settlements; from which they have become divided into those innumerable fragments of population of various sizes which are now to be met with in almost all the regions of the globe, and which strikingly fulfil an ancient and very peculiar prophecy of their being in their later period in such a state.

These facts show us, that from the beginning of the Jewish population under Abraham to the present hour, they have been so circumstanced with the chief nations of the earth in all ages, that every inquiring mind in either, had the means of becoming acquainted with the same divine knowledge which was imparted to the Jews, if it had chosen to use its opportunities of acquiring what was thus accessible to all; or if any had been as interested to make such subjects the object of their curiosity, as some were who travelled into Egypt and India to learn, from the priesthoods of each, the science and literature which they were supposed to possess or to be cultivating. The Jewish people were, at various intervals, greatly mixed, to their own prejudice, from their desire of intercommunity, or from the course of affairs in transactions and intercourse with the contiguous states; so that the populace of each had repeated opportunities of knowing all that the Jewish nation had been taught and venerated. These things exhibit Judea to have been always placed or kept in the situation of being a local fountain of divine knowledge, from which channels for its diffusion, into

the chief kingdoms of the earth, were in every age successively made, and were for long intervals subsisting.

Such plans, such results, and for such an object, were worthy of the great subject and of its Great Author.

The introduction and establishment of Christianity in the civilized world, and its progress towards obtaining the intellectual sovereignty of the human race, belonging more particularly to a later period in the history of human nature, need not be delineated here : it will come in more fitly at a subsequent opportunity.

Take now a comprehensive view of what has been thus imperfectly sketched, and accustom yourself to contemplate ancient history as a great map of a connected system of things, formed in the divine mind for the course and government of human affairs, and thereby for the formation of human nature to be what it has thus far been, and to be yet, beyond all that has been done, what it is still advancing to be, in that onward progression which is manifestly in very vigorous movement, and which nothing in man or nature can arrest or frustrate.

The mighty process is in full action around us—the stream of that immense river which has been flowing through all past time, gradually widening and branching out, and increasing everywhere its effusions and its masses, is now rolling towards eternity with augmented force and expansion, carrying us all forward while we live, and sure to waft our descendants and successors to new improvements, new dangers, and new destinies. One pilotage will alone give safety to our course, and it will be our own fault if we do not secure to ourselves its enlightening wisdom and preserving guidance.*

† It is refreshing to the mind to read in a heathen philosopher, who wrote after Christianity had begun to spread, and who seems to have been benefited by its expanding rays, such sentiments as these :—

“ My business is to be always found void of passion, free, and always doing what I should wish to do. So that I may say to God, Did I ever *accuse thee*? Have I ever found fault with thy administration and government? I have been sick. It was because it pleased thee that it should be so. Others were sick too. I willingly submitted to it. I was poor. It was because thou didst choose it to be so. But I was still cheerful. It was not thy will that I should be a ruler, and I never desired empire.

“ I give thee all thanks that thou didst count me worthy of such an honour as to perceive thy works, and to understand thine admirable ad-

LETTER VII.

Sketch of the Peculiarities which distinguish Human Nature from every other order of known Beings, and its special composition of a Soul and Body.

THE first part of our historical outline has been considered in the Letters of our former volume. These laid before you a general sketch of the geological structure of the surface rocks of our globe, with its ocean and atmosphere, and of the vegetable and animal classes which were chosen to be its additional accompaniments. A concise notice was taken of the paradise which was formed within it, and in which the first beings of the human figure and qualities were stationed immediately after their creation. It is from this point that we will begin our farther considerations upon them, and of the designs and course of Providence in their history and in that of human nature. There is a connexion between their history and that of their descendants which cannot be obliterated, and deserves our candid and philosophical investigation.

As human nature appears to have been a special invention of the Creator, which does not, as far as we can perceive, extend to any other sphere—unless the constitution of the planets Mars and Venus resembles ours sufficiently to admit of beings like ourselves inhabiting their surfaces—let us first consider, more particularly than we have yet done, what it is that peculiarly makes a human being. With just notions on this point we shall the better understand the

ministration. Let it be, while thinking on these things, or writing on them, or reading about them, that death come upon me."—*EPICUREUS* in *ARRIAN*. l. iii. c. 5.

It is pleasing to read a similarity of feeling from a very different character sixteen hundred years after, a peasant instead of a philosopher; but of a genius which no circumstances could destroy. Burns thus writes: "The grand end of human life is to cultivate an intercourse with that Being, to whom we owe life and all the enjoyments which render life delightful, and to maintain an integrity of conduct towards our fellow-creatures; that so, by forming piety and virtue into habit, we may be fit members for the society of the pious and the good, which reason and revelation teach us to expect beyond the grave."

schemes and purposes of Providence in the history of mankind, and its dealings towards them.

The first peculiarity that we may notice is the INTELLIGENT SOUL, which all the human race possesses, united with their material frame. Brutes have both a fleshly substance and mental faculty, as we before remarked, with several properties analogous to ours; but these are so limited in all their similarities, and so withheld from advancing beyond the boundary prescribed, that their mind cannot be the same mind of immaterial being as our spirit. The intellect which man possesses has, in addition to all that brutes enjoy, so many greater powers and qualities which they have never exhibited, nor can be trained to acquire; and the human capacity has been so progressive, and displays such a continuous improvability, that we are justified in deeming our soul to be a distinct genus of intelligent nature, superior to every other sentient and perceiving principle that has yet appeared in our terrestrial companions.*

The soul of man is therefore entitled to a separate and discriminating name, as much as a lion or any other quadru-

* Cicero felt and wrote strongly of the superiority of man to every other earthly animal. He remarks, "How many excellences God has bestowed upon mankind! He has raised them from the ground and made them lofty and erect, that by contemplating the skies they might attain a knowledge of the gods. For men are not upon the earth as mere cultivators or inhabitants, but rather as spectators of the things above and of the heavenly powers—a spectacle which no other kind of animal beings is conscious of."

After describing our senses, he adds, "Every sense of man by far excels the senses of the beasts; but as to the soul and mind of man, his reason, his wisdom, his forethought; he who does not perceive that these have been perfected by a divine care, must be deficient in them himself. We build cities, walls, houses, and temples. We turn to our use the acute senses of the elephant and the sagacity of the dog. We dig the iron from the caverns of the earth, and discover the veins of copper, silver, and gold. Man alone has any government over the winds and the sea. He also rules the land. We enjoy the fields and the mountains. The rivers are ours; the lakes are ours. We sow corn; we plant trees; we fertilize the earth by canals; we conduct and alter the course of rivers. We make a new nature in the midst of nature herself. Has not our reason penetrated to the heavens!—We alone of all animals perceive the motions of the stars. We have acquired a knowledge of the Divinity. From hence arises piety. With that, justice is associated and all the other virtues. How greatly then does man excel every other animal! How impossible is it that such a figure, such an arrangement of limbs, and such a force of mind and genius, could have arisen from chance!"—Cic. Nat. Deor. l. ii. p. 173-7.

ped has an appellation distinguishing it from an insect. All languages, at least of civilized nations, have a term of this sort; and as the Greeks marked it by their *ψυχή*, or *Psyche*, and the Latins by their *anima*, and at times by their *animus*, so in our English language, as in its parent the Anglo-Saxon, the word soul has been always appropriated to designate the living and thinking faculty, which exclusively animates the human frame. Most nations, whether civilized or savage, feel it to be a living something, distinct from the body, and not ceasing to be when that perishes.*

Of this soul we have no perceptive knowledge, except from our consciousness and experience of its actions, feelings, and effects, as it is too immaterial in its nature to be a subject of our material senses. It displays its qualities and its capacity by its sensibilities and agency; and all that we know from authority of its essential being is, that it is an emanation from the divine nature, expressed in human language as the breath of God. No origin could lead us to expect more excellent properties in it, nor more safely justify our highest appreciation of it. It is always treated in the Scriptures as having a sublime relation of this sort, and more es-

* The immortality of the soul was one of the distinguishing doctrines of Socrates, and the assertion of it formed the great charm of the *Phædon* to Cicero, and to the most enlightened Romans. It became Plato's most valued work, for this reason, and as detailing the last conversation of Socrates with his friends just before he took the sentenced poison. A short extract on this point may interest you, as showing his mode of teaching:

"S. Answer me, what is that which, when in the body, makes it alive?—*Keles*. The soul.

"S. Will it always be so?—*K*. How can it be otherwise?

"S. Will the soul, then, always bring life to whatever it occupies?—*K*. Certainly.

"S. Is there any thing contrary to life, or nothing?—*K*. There is.

"S. What?—*K*. Death.

"S. Will the soul receive the contrary to what it introduces?—*K*. By no means.

"S. But what do we call that which does not receive death?—*K*. Immortal.

"S. The soul will not receive death, you say?—*K*. No.

"S. Is the soul then immortal?—*K*. It is immortal.

"S. When therefore death comes upon a man, what is mortal in him perishes, as it is seen to do; but what is immortal withdraws itself from death, safe and uncorrupted?—*K*. This is clear.

"S. We may then be sure that more than all things, O *Keles*! the soul is immortal and incorruptible, and that our souls will be in existence in Hades."—*Plat. Phædo*, c. 39, 40.

pecially by our Saviour and his apostles, in several very important passages, awfully grand and exciting, and never to be willingly forgotten. For man is by them represented as capable of such improvement as to be in communion with his God,* as to be, or with the power of attaining to be, a partaker of divine nature,† as an eventual possessor of the fulness of the Deity,‡ and even to become so ameliorated and exalted, that the Creator can have such intellectual association or intercourse with it, as to dwell within it, and to be in a state of unity with it.§ Possibilities, attainabilities, improvements, or destinies, grander than these expressions imply, no language can express, and no being receive.||

Yet these ennobling ideas are used by those, who also call upon us to remember our coexisting imperfections and errors; our unworthiness, our self-nothingness, and that state of mind and conduct which they characterize as human sin. Both these representations compose a picture of human nature with very striking contrasts—a surprising mixture of perfections and deformities; the most brilliant splendour with the darkest shadows; but it is the true delineation of our intermingled character and most mysterious nature; no one that is not absorbed with egotism but must know it to be so. We must all feel within us continual indications of both these qualities. It is a boyish inexperience only, which can regale itself in the contemplation of its self-elating excellences, and forget or not perceive, the deficiencies and weaknesses, or even worse propensities, with which every

* Ep. Cor. c. xiii. v. 14. Ev. John, xiv. v. 23. 1 John Ep. i. v. 3; c. iii. v. 24; c. iv. v. 15, 16.

† Ep. St. Peter, c. ii. v. 4. Heb. xii. v. 10.

‡ Ep. St. Paul Eph. iii. v. 19.

§ St. John, c. xvii. v. 11. 21-23; c. xiv. v. 20.

|| The conclusion which Socrates drew from his doctrine was thus expressed by him to another of his young attending friends: "On account of what I have mentioned, O Simmias! we should do every thing now, that we may become in this life partakers of virtue and wise judgment: for the reward is beautiful and the hope is grand. From the effect of these things, he may have a good hope for his soul, who, avoiding the pleasures and ornaments of the body as foreign to it, thinks that he may do far greater things; and by decorating his spirit with its true and proper adornments, with temperance, and justice, and fortitude, and liberty, and truth, waits for the time of his migration to Hades, ready to go whenever summoned by fate. But mine is now calling me. It is time for me to bathe. It will save the women trouble in their after offices, if I wash myself before I take the poison."—Plato, Phæd. c. 40, 47.

thing that is better within us, is too much and too often allied.

This is a subject deeply interesting to us all, and fit to exercise the mind of the profoundest philosopher. It is also a study which will carry with it its own reward ; for while it represses pride and self-conceit, the brighter elements will exhilarate us by the prospect of the improvements to which they elevate our thoughts, and towards which we may with due care be advancing. They will, if remembered, be always tending to excite an ambition to be divested of the deteriorations, which, though so universal, are never immoveable ; and which we are continually exhorted to diminish. We have no diseases or blemishes in the immortal principle of our nature, which may not be healed and dissipated. Reason and self-love concur with religion, to invite us to make this honourable result the constant object of our desire and efforts. We are called upon by the highest authority to be ever striving to do so ; and we therefore know that it is practicable. For it is not likely that He who said, "Be ye therefore perfect, as your Father in heaven is perfect," would have so solemnly urged us to such views and exertions, unless the aspiration were rational ; nor unless a progressive melioration would accompany the persevering endeavour. This reflection may satisfy us, that the ulterior consummation is never beyond the possibility of some future realization.

But the perfection of human nature seems not to arise from the soul alone. The form of creation designed for man was, that this soul should be invested always with a material body ; with that species of corporeal form in this world, with which it has always been accompanied in every species of the human population, and with a superior form of it in its future state. Our present body has been a constant and uniform structure through all ages and in all nations, varying in some parts in the colour of the external skin, and in its size ; but everywhere the same in the system, laws, and substance of its composition. But this universal body is not to be considered, as some have regarded it, as an encumbrance, as an evil, as a degradation, a deterioration, or an imprisonment. Such declamation implies only an inattention to its uses and offices.* It is an essential part

* Plato makes Socrates speak in this light of the body : "When the

of our appointed nature here, and contributes and acts indispensably to make us what we are. And a similar accompaniment is to be with our individuality hereafter. We could not be of that order of beings that we are, nor of those persons and qualities which we now possess, without it. It is in every respect necessary and beneficial, and never becomes otherwise by its own natural operation, nor without compulsion, from other causes and agencies exterior to it, and made to act forcibly and injuriously upon it. In its proper, created, and uninjured state, it is always doing us services, giving us gratifications, producing and guarding our daily comfort, and the ever ready instrument of all our motions and manual abilities. Other things, by deranging and diseasing its admirable functions and organizations, may cause pain to arise from them, but this never originates from itself in its own unperverted condition and construction.

It is the body which principally makes us the specific beings that we are; without it, and anterior to being invested with it, the soul is but a general intellectual faculty, that, for aught we know, might as well have been any other kind of living being as man. If this had been incorporated with the fleshly mechanism of a bird, it would have been the monarch of the feathered race, but could not have been a human being. So, if it had been connected with the forms appropriated to angels, if they have any kind of material figures, it might then have been a portion of the angelic classes of existence. But it was intended and appointed by the Creator to be neither brute nor seraph, but a human being; and in order that it might be such, that specific form and interior composition, and those peculiar organizations, adapted to make it so, have been devised and provided for it. And thus the general powers and faculties of our living and thinking principle are trained and modified by our body into

soul seeks to explore truth with the body, it is manifestly deceived by it. It reasons then most beautifully when this does not disturb it. Does not then the soul of the philosopher despise his body and fly from it, and seek to be itself by itself? Will not true philosophers say, that as long as we have a body our mind will be mind with evil attached to it? For the body produces myriads of impediments to us from the food it needs and the disorders which fall upon us. It obstructs us with loves, and desires, and fears, and idols of every sort, and so fills us with trifles, that we may truly say, it never permits us to be rightly wise. Nothing else occasions wars, and seditious, and strifes, so much as the body and its appetites.'—Plato, *Phæd.* c. xviii. p. 88.

that special mind and character, qualities and habits, which everywhere constitute human nature ; though with many partial and distinguishing varieties, from the local, social, and political circumstances with which they are connected.

But, to effectuate the purpose of causing man to be a human being such as we are, it was not alone sufficient to give him the human frame which we inherit and bear ; it was also requisite to invent and compose such an external world as environs us, for such imbodied souls to inhabit ; because our becoming human beings depends as much upon the action of other things upon our senses and feelings, as upon the nervous organizations and muscular mobilities, by which we become perceptive of sensations from them.

The external world and course of things, which it has pleased our Creator to imagine and to ordain for our accommodation and instruction, have been the main subjects of our preceding Letters. In them we attempted to present a panoramic view of the starry system, and of the vegetable and animal kingdoms which adorn our globe, and are so serviceable to us, with some general outlines of our geological structure. It was remarked, that from these creations all our science and all our knowledge have been derived, and that we possess no other, nor can acquire any ideas of any sort but what are derived from them, and from the operations of the human mind upon them, as far as visible nature can supply or suggest our intellectual materials. But it is obvious that every thing about us displays artificial invention and composition. Nothing that consists of elementary particles, either casually or arbitrarily united, can have been in that state from all eternity. But as there can be no chance in creation, all that exists must be in a regular arrangement, and be a succession of produced and appointed sequences.

All the substances we see, therefore, display to us the will, the choice, and the reasoning of their great Author. We must keep the fact continually in our recollection, on account of its unceasing applicability, that he has devised and selected them to be what they are, and as they are, in preference to their being of any other kind or configuration. The same particles might have been arranged into very different forms and substances, with very different results to us, if he had thought fit. But he has determined that they should be what we always find them, in order that his human

beings may be what they are ; and, meaning that mankind should, as long as they exist and reappear on earth, be always of the same general nature, he has caused his external world to be hitherto as abiding and as permanent in all its forms and classes of being, as the human soul itself is. The natural forms and course of things which now surround us, have never varied in the substance and principles of their make and system. What is deciduous and subjected to death in the organized classes, reappears in its offspring with the same nature and character. The reproductive system has been so wonderfully contrived, as to perpetuate a succession of continual similarities, so that death or dissolution makes no fracture or chasm in the great whole of creation. Man, and the world he inhabits, continue in their settled course. The human senses of every generation have always the same external world before them. This exterior uniformity thus constantly preserved, amid all the mortality and destruction of living things, produces and ensures the continual uniformity of human nature, in all its essential characters and phenomena. If nature had been made to change in its general system and substance at appointed periods, the human being would have proportionably altered with it, and must have become very different from what he has hitherto been and still is. Hence it is, that in our next state of existence, being destined to revive in a very dissimilar economy of external phenomena, our souls may become, and we are assured that they will be, very different indeed, in almost all respects, from what they are in this their terrestrial residence.*

* Nothing more prevented the ancients from forming just opinions on either the divine or natural philosophy of things, than that general impression of the earth being a living animal, and a species of Deity. This idea was not confined to one age or school, but continued to be adhered to by most, until the Christian doctrines affected that radical change in the human mind, under which it has been growing up from the fourth century, though very slowly at first, from the quantity of weeds it had to remove, to the present times. One of the latest forms of this opinion we see in one of the philosophers of the Eclectic school, which professed to select and combine the knowledge and excellences of all the others. It is Proclus who gives this epitome of what his translator, in 1793, calls "his beautiful account of the earth," in his inestimable dialogues."

"The true earth is not this corporeal and gross bulk, but an animal endued with a divine soul and a divine body. For it contains an immaterial and separate intellect ; a divine soul energizing about this intellect ; an ethereal body proximately depending upon this soul ; and, lastly, this

These reflections lead us to perceive that man is altogether, both in mind and body, and habits and character, a special device and fabrication of his Creator. It has not only been determined that such an order of beings shall exist in the universe, but that he should be made to be specifically what he is, in his general nature and qualities; and therefore a very particular frame of body, and a very peculiar natural world, have been contrived and created to make him such, and both are steadfastly continued to be what they are in order that he may as yet, and in this world, be always what human beings universally are. It is clear that our external world is a very specific world, because it is the opinion of our ablest philosophers that neither of the planets appears to resemble it. The phenomena that we can descry in or about any of these, do not entitle us to believe that such persons as the human beings of this earth, are or could be in existence upon them. We are therefore a special imagination and choice of our Divine Author's mind, and so is our beautiful earth. Interesting and happy beings are no doubt occupying the other spheres that shine about us, but they are not such as we are, nor do we resemble them.*

visible bulk, which is on all sides animated, and filled with life from its inspiring soul; and through which it generates and nourishes lives of all various kinds. For one species of life is rooted in the earth, and another moves about its surface. So that earth is a divine animal, full of intellectual and animastic essences, and of immaterial powers."—Taylor's *Introd. to Plato's Timæus*, p. 416.

* It is interesting to observe how minds of the most different force, tastes, and character, yet concur in feeling the benefit and in enforcing the cultivation of sincere religion.

Two books of very opposite nature now lie before me—a volume of Mr. Burke's works and the German Prince Puckler Muskau's *Tutti Frutti*. Yet on this point they coincide.

Mr. Burke.—"We know, and, what is better, we feel, that religion is the basis of civil society, and the source of all good and of all comfort.

"We know, and it is our pride to know, that man is by his constitution a religious animal—that atheism is against not only our reason, but our instincts, and that it cannot continue long.

"Taking ground on that religious system of which we are now in possession, we continue to act on the early received and uniformly continued sense of mankind. This sense has not only built up states, but hath solemnly and for ever consecrated the commonwealth, and all that officiate in it.

"This consecration is made, that all who administer in the government of men should have high and worthy notions of their function and distinction; that their hope should be full of immortality; that they should not look to the paltry pelf of the moment, nor to the temporary and

LETTER VIII.

Review of the Results of the Divine Plan which have been effectuated in Human Nature according to the appointed Design on several important subjects.

THE plan of the Deity as to man being thus far obvious, that his soul, or intellectual principle, should be on this earth within a specially-devised body—specially devised with a view to the effects that were, during its earthly life, to be produced by means of it to the soul; and being ordained to possess this incorporated existence here, in a world full of numerous things, moving and stationary, each of which should become objects of our conscious attention as the senses become affected by them; our next inquiry will be, what were the intended results of such a special apparatus? Have the meditated purposes been accomplished? or have the provisions failed to produce the ends for which they were designed?

transient praise of the vulgar, but to a solid and permanent existence in the permanent part of their nature, and to a permanent fame and glory, in the example they leave as a rich inheritance to the world.

"Such sublime principles ought to be infused into persons of exalted situations, and religious establishments ought to be provided, that they may continually revive and enforce them.

"Every sort of moral, civil, and politic institution, aiding the rational and national ties that connect the human understanding and affections with the divine, are not more than necessary, in order to build up that wonderful structure, MAN, whose prerogative it is to be, in a great degree, a creature of his own making.

"And who, when made, as he ought to be, is destined to hold no trivial place in the creation."

Prince Puckler Muskau.—On visiting his family vault, he remarks, "I fell on my knees and prayed—all the gloomy feelings which had agitated me, vanished before the consciousness of God's protecting providence, and a silent soothing sorrow alone remained.

"Mysterious power of prayer: it gives us strength to resist every affliction and to endure it; nay, to find in the more intimate communion with God to which it leads, something which of itself lifts us triumphantly above every earthly suffering.

"Yes, we stand in need not only of earthly reality, but also of a realm of imagination—not alone of increasing progression, but also of wise restriction—not only of religion, but also of its sacred rites.

"It is manifestly revealed to each of us in his heart, that there is something higher and more interesting than what the world can afford."

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The just answer of our reason seems unquestionably to be, that it is not possible to suppose that any part of creation has failed to produce the effect which it was intended and ordained to occasion ; because both the end and the means were always in the choice, and wholly at the command, of their Maker ; and nothing has been made or is, but what he determined and caused to appear.

He knew, before he formed any thing, what it would be and do ; and also what he himself meant, and whether his object was attainable or not, and also by what causations it would be effected. He would not devise and order what he knew he could not accomplish, for that would be a self-contradiction and an absurdity : nor would he devise or apply means which would not effectually operate as such. He was under no compulsion to fix on any one end, or to design any one object, more than another ; nor to use any thing as means which would not prove to be so. Any form of creation would be equally creation by him ; and all kinds of it that he made, must always have been his choice and will.

What was impossible to be done, could not be done. What would be ineffectual means to perform what was possible, would be discerned by him to be so, as soon as the thought of it could occur. It is the deduction of our common sense, that with his visible intelligence, he would never design and attempt what would not be realized, and that Omnipotence never would employ inefficient means or causes to effectuate his desired and intended ends and purposes.

Thus we may be sure that his creations have in every respect fulfilled his purposes and expectations ; instantaneously, those ends which were meant to be immediate ; progressively, those which were designed to be progressive ; in their due period of succession those which could only successively occur, and the remote and ultimate, at their foreseen and appointed distance. His object and plans are manifestly of all these different kinds, and it is the confusion of our minds which confounds them together, and will not discriminate their several classes ; not his unclouded and sovereign intelligence, in which order, process, gradation, and far-reaching thought and sagacity, are signally apparent. " Known unto God," says the apostle, " are all his works, from the beginning of the world ;" * and nothing can more

* Acta xv. 18.

emphatically mark to us the length of his plans, and that they are ever extending far into eternity, than our Saviour's assurance, that before our world was made, his future kingdom of felicity was resolved upon, to be the inheritance of those who should be deemed fitted to become its immortal inhabitants.* No principle is asserted by the great teachers of Christianity more clearly, than the planning and providing foresight of the Almighty, in the grand systems which he has devised and introduced for the gradual melioration and ultimate perfection of mankind.†

Hence our just inference seems to be, that in every respect his creations have fulfilled both his purposes and expectations, however unsatisfactory some results may seem to us, who form our theories and anticipations with so much ignorance and mistake, though we do not wilfully mean them to be erroneous.

What is true as to all that exist, must be true as to mankind, who are such important parts of our earthly whole. We may therefore presume that human nature has thus far been fulfilling what he intended and expected from it, in all its component parts, and in the various ages that have elapsed since its creation, and up to this period of its duration; and that the human race are still going on to accomplish the farther and ulterior designs, for which they have been created. We see that they are not stationary. They never were so excited as at present; they never have before been so agitated. They are cherishing a passion for change, reform, and revolutionary experiments, by some of which they will

* "Come! ye blessed of my Father, inherit the kingdom prepared for you, from the foundation of the world."—St. Matt. xxv. 34.

† Thus St. Paul mentions the Christian dispensation as having been ordained, before the world was formed, for our benefit; 1 Cor. ii. 7. He implies the same in Romans, xvi. 25; again to the Ephesians, he calls it "the mystery which from the beginning of the world hath been hid in God," iii. 9. He tells his disciple Timothy, that it was given to us "before the world began," 1 Tim. i. 9. He represents the Christian race as chosen "before the foundation of the world," Eph. i. 4. He calls this improvement of human nature "an eternal purpose," ver. 11; so he assures Titus that it was what the Deity had "promised before the world began," Tit. i. 2. St. Peter, with the same fixed idea, declares that our Saviour's advent "verily was foreordained before the foundation of the world," 1 Pet. i. 20. No passages can more clearly show that the course of human nature, and the true sacred history of the world, is a gradual evolution of a divine plan, devised before our creation, for the progressive improvement and ultimate benediction of mankind.

be benefited, and by others greatly injured, at least in the existing generations. But He who is ever watching the tumultuary impulses and movements, will make such of them as will be so serviceable, instrumental to promote his farther plans for the progression and improvement of our being. The rest he will cause to fail from their own impropriety and inutility. It is our own imperfection to form misconceptions of his designs, or of what we may think ought to be done by him. But our mistakes of judgment are a blot upon ourselves, and not upon him, whatever criticism we may, with fretful or forgetting temerity, direct against him. We may be sure that his plans are never unexecuted, and that the means which he employs never fall short of their appointed issue. And as soon as we can discern what they really have been, and can rightly appreciate them, we shall admire their wisdom, and as clearly perceive their successful termination.

Some of the points which have been fully attained, and which could not have been attained without a skilful provision and adaptation of the effective means, and with which the sacred history of the world is essentially connected, may be here adverted to.

One of these is the complete union of our soul and body in their present life; which is and ever has been an inexplicable wonder to all who have reflected on it. We are all sensible of the fact. We see that it takes place in a progressive growth of form, from our embryo state to our full maturity; yet no one can discern how it is effected, nor what maintains as well as establishes the connexion. The immaterial so perfectly associated with the material, so inseparable, till death disunites them! It is not merely a one living and sentient principle united with a most artificial body, compacted into limbs, organs, and trunk, from innumerable particles of great variety. It was also requisite that due means and provisions should be continually furnished and applied, to blend and to keep blended unceasingly these two dissimilar things into a single animated frame in every individual, so that the mental faculty should have a sensibility in all its external surface, and continual sensations from its eyes, ears, and fingers, and should have full power of using and directing its combined form, and every moveable member of it, as its varying will should choose.

It was also necessary to accomplish two other ends contrary to each other. One was, by due causations to keep the body and its principle of life associated together in close and perfect junction, and in full efficiency, so long as each individual was to remain on earth, but no longer; and the other was, when his term of duration ended, by other causes operating likewise within us, to sever the connexion in every one, so that the vital sensibility, although before so firmly combined with its corporeal abode, should then without difficulty quit it. Connected with these two contrasted events, two other as opposing purposes have been also in every one effectuated, though by means inscrutable by us. The one, that while the soul is within the body the particles of this body shall never separate; or be replaced by others as fast as they do so; the second is, that as soon as the living principle leaves it, the particles shall no longer keep together nor be supplied, but shall instantly begin to disunite, and shall be decomposed into the minute matter or molecules which had been aggregated into it. Invariably, and unerringly, and universally, are all these curious results achieved.

Another law has been as fully operative. It was a part of the creative scheme that in the animated compound, before this severance should take place, there should be the power and means of causing beings like themselves to be formed; in order to be their successors, and to continue on earth their species of living forms. All these purposes have been accomplished at all periods. The provided means have been so wisely chosen and regulated, and so efficient, that millions of millions of other imbodied creatures, as well as of our own race, have been always existing and acting in this compound form—have each lived the period allotted to their class of being, and no longer—have always died within the term of their assigned durations, and have all possessed the devised reproducing power of continuing their species. Nowhere could means and ends be so precisely and successfully adapted to each other. The prescribed period of earthly life is never confined to one exact year or day. This is allowed to vary; but there is a peculiar boundary to each class which is never exceeded. Each live and die within these appointed limits. No horse can equal a man in longevity, and no human being since the deluge has reached to

200 years. The usual proportion of even a long life is within a third of this extent.

Another appointment of a great end and its successful production, with unabated energy, by means and by an agency incomprehensible by us, is, that all animals shall require sustenance from things external to themselves; and that material nature shall always provide a sufficiency of this nutriment.

When we consider the multiplicity and diversity of the living beings on our globe, and what an immense quantity of appropriate food such a totality in all their species is continually needing, and has been specially made to need; and yet that every one finds what it wants, the mind is astonished at the amount of foresight, power, benevolence, and skill, by which such a prodigious and adapted supply has been so fully and so steadily provided. As no animated frame can live without its proper proportion, the immense numbers which are always living attest the immensity of the provision, and that it is quite sufficient for them; for if it were not, they could not be.

Here is a purpose, of a magnitude which embraces all sentient existence on our globe, and has extended through all the time of its duration, which has ever been fulfilled, and still is daily accomplishing, with unceasing certainty and individuated effect. Yet how and why plants vegetate for this end, and with such dissimilarities, no one knows; we can only refer it to their Maker's will and continuing agency.

Another successful attainment of a vast end, still more surprising, because more difficult to be effectuated, appears in the design and law, that every human being shall have organs of sense in himself distinct from every other, and impressible in all by the outward things and movements of nature, affecting each separately; and yet these sensorial functions, though made in every one at different times, according to his bulk and growth, shall yet become so exactly alike in all, and likewise be so precisely reproduced in their several descendants, that the same external objects shall always produce in every one similar sensations. The substance which affects my eyesight as an ear of corn or as an oak-tree, makes the same impression on the millions of other human beings, before whose eyes these vegetables have appeared in all preceding ages, and who in every country are

at present beholding them. No plant seems to one a pear-tree and to another a rose. No one mistakes a sheep for a pig, or a field for a river. Here again the exactness and constancy of the individual effect, through all periods and in all classes, announce the precision and wisdom of the devised means, and their perfect operation. Every eye sees, and every ear hears, analogously to each other in their natural construction. A few rare anomalies occur from occasional disease,* or as to colours from some accident to some part of the visual organ.† Peculiar states of the atmosphere cause the luminous fluid to act in an unusual manner on material things;‡ but these only mark more strongly the wonderful production of the general effect. The proper action of every sense is so much alike in all, that we are perpetu-

* Mr. Abernethy mentions a patient under a palsy to whom "a candle, though held near him, appeared as large as the moon."—Surg. Obs. p. 116.

† Two brothers are now living, known to me, who see no difference between blue and green: nor between crimson, red, and scarlet—a pupil of Mr. Guillie had no sensation of the red colour, but having heard that the fire was red, when he had to translate from his Horace "rubenti dextra," called it a burning right hand.

‡ Thus at Algiers, in June, 1830, at 10 A. M. when the sky was peculiarly clear, the state of the light and air doubled the images of objects to the eye. Two images were distinctly seen by the spectators who were observing the line of battle formed in front of the camp. The false image seemed of not more than half the brightness of the other; but was perfectly well defined. It appeared elevated above the objects themselves by about a quarter of their actual height, and declined slightly to one side. Many of the Algerine tents had on their summit spheres of tin supporting a crescent. Over each of these spheres a second was perceived, in immediate contact with the first: and so strong was the deception, that it required a very nice observation to discover that there were not actually two. This phenomenon was communicated to the Acad. des Sciences in 1831.

Captain Owen mentions, that on the coast of Africa, "in the evening of 5th April, the vessel Barracouta was seen about *two miles* to leeward. So distinctly was she seen, that many well-known faces could be observed on deck, looking towards our ship. It afterward appeared that at this very period, the Barracouta must have been above 300 miles from us."—Captain Owen's Narrative.

Similar to this was the effect to the Old Signal Man at the Mauritius. He announced the appearance of a ship with four masts. *Three days* afterward a ship actually arrived, having four masts. She must have been seen by him when upwards of 300 miles off.—Quarterly Review, v. 50, p. 134.

Dr. Stegman had patients four times, whose disease was, that they saw themselves double. They perceived another self exterior to themselves.—Foruss, Bull. Un. 1829, p. 433.

ally employing the eyes of others to see for us, and the ears of others to be our substitutes, and to report to us what we cannot personally attend to. We read their accounts, and the descriptions of our travellers and naturalists, with the same confidence in their truth and justness, that we should have in our own senses, if these had been present, and received the impressions instead of theirs. It is only a doubt of their moral veracity or perceiving judgment, which would lead us to question their relations; not the least suspicion of the exact conformity between their sensations and our own from the same external objects.

It is this identity of all the impressions on the sensorial functions of mankind; this coinciding exactness in the action of the organs of sense in every one, which causes and was meant to cause all the individuals of our species to be human beings, so closely resembling each other in natural knowledge, and to be capable of living in society together, and of acting with common purposes, and in mutual dealings. The least variation in this essential point separates us immediately, for no difference of this sort takes place unless insanity has begun; and that terrible disease is usually manifested by the fact, that the unhappy sufferer has sensorial impressions from some external things, which none but himself experience. Some organ of his perception has become disordered, and the unity of sensation between him and his fellow-beings immediately ceases so far as his derangement extends;* at

* Thus a respectable woman on a Saturday said to her brother, whose wife had died six months before, "How plain I now see her on that wall! can you?"—From this remark he concluded that her intellects were affected, and on the Monday she suddenly cut her throat.—Public Newspaper, 20th October, 1833.

Lord Derby, in 1594, had a diseased attack of this sort. "On 5th April there appeared suddenly a tall man before him, with a ghastly and threatening countenance, who twice or thrice seemed to cross him as he was passing through the chamber. One of his secretaries, then attending, saw nothing which amazed him; when he came to the same part of the chamber where this figure appeared, he became exceedingly sick." He died 11 days after.—Stowe's Chron. p. 767.

We meet occasionally in private life with instances of diseased impressions, which do not arise in the healthy frame. A lady mentioned to me a gentleman she knew, who thought he was a fish-pie. She heard him tell his wife to make haste and give him his tea; for when John (the footman) came up, he was sure he would eat him. He was anxious to get away before the man returned.

A pleasing dramatist, lately deceased, frequently thought his head was turned the wrong way, and strove to turn it, as he meant, back again.

times it is only a temporary affection from which the greatest minds have not for a season been exempt, but without any subsequent diminution of their acknowledged ability.*

Nor is this important point left in any degree at the option of any one. We must see as others see. We cannot help it. We cannot, if we would, mistake the sun for the moon, or the tree for the squirrel or monkey that may skip about it. We cannot force our mind to believe the roaring of a bull to be the chirping of a sparrow. Madness only could cause such confusion: as it does sometimes create sensorial impressions, where nothing real is producing them.†

Another great end essential to our social union, and to all that has resulted from it, has been universally realized in the identity of our natural feelings. Our nervous sensibilities, and the corresponding emotions of the mind, have been made

He often distressed those he was with, by the efforts he made to twist his head round.—I once saw a gentleman at the Foundling in the middle of the service, seized with a partial suspension of his faculties, and with an idea that he was a teapot. He stood half unconscious, moving his right arm as if it was the spout pouring tea into different cups.—I had a friend, to whom, as his epileptic fits came on, his arms and legs seemed to swell into the limbs of elephants. These facts show the wonderful niceness and exactness with which our bodily functions are framed; that amid so many millions, these erroneous sensations so very rarely occur.

* Sir Isaac Newton had a nervous attack of this sort in his middle age, which has been absurdly magnified into a lasting debility. The great Cardinal de Richelieu had also occasionally fits of this description. Sometimes he would fancy himself a horse, and run jumping about a billiard-table, neighing and snorting. This would last an hour, at the end of which, his people would put him to bed, and cover him up closely to induce perspiration. When he awoke, the fit had passed, and the symptoms disappeared.—Priv. Corresp. Dutchess Orleans.

† An instance of this occurred in the case of a person who in the present August, 1834, alarmed the neighbourhood of Hammersmith, by his outcries of terror as he fled over the fields, from something he thought to be pursuing him. When the police took charge of him, his account was, that as he was coming through Brentford he met a respectable looking old gentleman, who invited him to partake of a rump steak. During their repast, he accidentally looked under the table, and distinctly saw that the old gentleman had a foot only on one foot, and that the other foot was cloven. He ran immediately out of the house, saw his companion, whom he believed to be Satan, following him, and screamed and hallooed till he was stopped, and taken to the station-house: there he made two attempts to destroy himself: the temporary derangement had come on from excessive drinking.—Public Newspaper, 7th August, 1834. The case detailed by Dr. Pritchard of Dr. Arnould's patient, in Cycl. Pract. Medicine, part xxii. p. 36, is still more remarkable for its longer continuity; but it is of the same kind.

to be and to act as precisely alike as our sensorial organs. Assassination and murder everywhere revolt the natural feeling.*

The same pleasing objects excite pleasurable impressions in every sane mind. The sun, the light, the cooling breeze, the vernal leaf, the rosebud, the expanded flower, the song, the laugh, the merry melody, the smile, the gentle motion of the limbs, the fragrance of the perfume, the daily food, and the friendly human voice, all raise in us gratifying feelings as soon as they affect the corresponding sense; savage or civilized, young or old, the natural effect is alike in all. Pleasant feelings will accompany the perception of them. Even the storm and the whirlwind, amid the terrors which attend them, convey also an intellectual gratification.† None survey the ocean without a feeling of its grandeur: none gaze upon a vast desert without dread and awe, and some uneasiness.‡ None behold Alp-like mountains without an impression of their sublimity. Until wrong habits harden or

* The Greeks had a refinement of phrase on putting persons to death, which marks the repugnance of the reason and sensibility to the destruction of a fellow-creature in any mind that has not hardened itself to the practice: they called it making him mild and quiet (*χρηστος*). This was a contrivance to avoid bringing before their moral sense the actual barbarity. Hence Aristotle writes, that in a treaty of peace between the Arcadians and Lacedæmonians, the latter inserted an article that the Arcadians should make none of the Tegeæans mild or quiet (*μηδενα χρηστος*), for the aid they had sent to Lacedæmon, meaning, and being understood to mean, that they should put none of them to death.—Plut. Quest. Rom. c. lii.

† Dr. Drake has happily expressed his own emotions on such occasions: "Still more fearfully, yet not less gratefully, do we experience this mode of mind, when the winds revel around us, and shake, as it were, the solid earth. We enjoy the feeling which they excite; and listen to the elemental uproar with a high and severe delight. There are, in fact, a mysteriousness and an immateriality about their being which stir within us thoughts the most awful and profound. We are conscious of the immediate presence of an agency, to us illimitable in its power, and yet unseen. We hear its sound, and shudder as we hearken; for its accents seem to dwell upon the ear as if they were those of the passing Deity."—Dr. Drake's *Evenings*, p. 19.

‡ Even Napoleon felt this, although so familiar with the horrors of war and battle. Las Casas mentions, that the emperor remarked to him, that the *DESERT* had always a peculiar influence on his feelings. He had never crossed it without being subject to certain emotions. It seemed to him, he said, the image of immensity. It showed no boundaries, and had neither beginning nor end. It was an ocean on the mainland. His imagination was excited by the recollection, and he took pleasure in drawing our attention to the observation, that the word "Napoleon" meant "The Lion of the Desert."—Las Casas, v. iii. p. 62.

false theories pervert the natural sensibilities, the cruel revolts us, and the kind attracts.*

Here, again, the forming plans of the Creator have been successfully completed, although here also the mode by which he effects this miraculous uniformity, eludes our acutest penetration. Riches and poverty, civilization and savage life, alike present these natural feelings to us. Severe as the privations of their adversity may be on the poor, yet still their hearts are honest, and their sensibilities active, as those who have most observed and best know them attest.† Our travellers into less civilized countries, exhibit in their

* Robespierre is a striking instance of this natural feeling, before he allowed political passions and circumstances, and antichristian principles to subvert it. Before the revolution, when as a judge in his native city of Arras he had to pronounce judgment on an assassin, he took no food for two days afterward, but was heard frequently exclaiming, "I am sure he was guilty; he is a villain; but yet, to put a human being to death!" He could not support the idea; and that the same necessity might not recur, he relinquished his judicial office.—(Lapponneray's *Life of Rob.* p. 8.) Afterward, in the Convention of 1791, he urged strongly the abolition of the punishment of death, and yet for sixteen months, in 1793 and 1794, till he perished himself by the same guillotine which he had so mercilessly used on others, no one at Paris consigned and caused so many fellow-creatures to be put to death by it, with more ruthless insensibility. The natural feeling which he had suppressed in himself, but had excited in others by these atrocities, was enthusiastically expressed through all Paris, in the universal acclamations which attended his execution. The same natural feeling appeared in the general horror and indignation, which such daily bloodshedding excited in all Europe. It is impossible to make cruelty amiable.

† One of Mr. Osler's communications, printed by the Poor Law Commissioners, ought to be known by every one, in justice to its subjects and to human nature:—

"The poor deserve all the attention we can give them. They are grateful and respectful to their superiors, and most kind to one another. If treated with harshness, contempt, or neglect, they will resent it; but let any one manifest an interest in their concerns, address them kindly, assist them with discrimination, refuse when necessary with mildness, and reprove with temper, and he will never find reason to complain. I have been brought into contact with thousands of all grades, from the respectable artisan down to the imprisoned felon. Their kindness to one another in their distresses is most exemplary and affecting. When pleading for a neighbour, they will indeed urge the absence of every claim upon themselves, and their inability to afford any assistance; but after the aid they have been soliciting has either been obtained or denied, they will cheerfully divide their morsel, and perform voluntarily and gratuitously every service. Their faults are on the surface, and are often nothing more than that coarseness of manner which belongs to their station. But whoever will study them thoroughly, will be compelled to admire their general character."—P. 150.

narratives many a pleasing portraiture of the same benevolent character : * all attesting the philanthropic principle which actuated the Framer in causing these feelings ; and the perfection of the plan and means by which he has so generally effectuated his intentions. The very anomalies which exist, are but like those exceptions which verify the general prin-

* Uncivilized populations, the most distant from each other, show the same natural feelings. The natives of New South Wales are thus described : " They are often in a state of perfect nudity, and their almost inhuman facial conformation and expression, and their dark and coarse texture of skin, produce upon the mind the most revolting impressions ; yet, in other respects, they are the most interesting of the savage tribes. In disposition they are artless, confiding, and sociable ; and, without the slightest exaggeration of terms, they may be said to possess the kindest affections. They are as full of mimicry as monkeys."—*East India Magazine*.

Of the *SANDWICH ISLANDERS*, Mr. Stewart says ; " as to their qualities of heart and mind, they appear in general to be as mild and amiable in disposition, and as sprightly and active in intellect, as the inhabitants of our own country. Ignorance, superstition, and sin, make all the difference we observe."—*Ib. Journal*, p. 140.

Capt. Beechy thus describes *Tutuaric*, a native of one of the low *CORAL ISLANDS* of the Pacific :—

" While on board he showed no curiosity, and was very dull of comprehension. He appeared to be a man whose energies had been worn down by hardship and privation ; but with these weak points he had good qualities. He lent a willing hand to pull a rope ; was cleanly and quiet ; had a strong sense of right and wrong, which, as far as his abilities enabled him, governed his actions. He had a warm heart ; and his attachment to his wife and children amounted even to weakness."—*Beechy's Voyage*, vol. i. p. 236.

Mr. Earle says of *NEW ZEALAND*, " The free New Zealander is a joyous, good-humoured looking man ; full of laughter and vivacity, and is chattering incessantly. But the slaves have invariably a squalid, dejected look ; they are never seen to smile."—*Earle's Narrative of N. Zeal.* How natural both these characters ! They have also their savage warfare and revenge ; but these are the excited passions, which are also everywhere alike, till modified by tuition and self-government, of which they have lately shown themselves as susceptible as man is everywhere else.

The songs of the *Hawaii Islanders* show us their natural feelings in their own words. Thus, one sung in the same island on the death of his chief, was—

" Alas ! alas ! dead is my chief ;
Dead is my lord and my friend.
My friend in the season of famine ;
My friend in the time of drought ;
My friend in my poverty ;
My friend in the rain and wind ;
My friend in the storm and the calm.
Alas ! alas ! gone is my friend,
And never more will return !"

Ellis, ib. 165.

ciple, because they come not from the natural man, but from the temporary and artificial circumstances of his political position.*

Another natural uniformity has been produced in our mental actions and reasoning, inferring and judging. We do not always come to the same conclusions, because our knowledge and acquired ideas on which our thinking faculty operates, vary in amount and applicability. But we always reason, infer, and judge in the same manner, and on resembling principles. When self-interest, falsehood, passions, habits, and prepossessions, or such like disturbing causes, do not alter the primitive tendency and operations of our nature, we think very much alike. If we take up the Proverbs of Solomon, written above 2,700 years ago,—if we read the sententious aphorisms of the Arabian Poets before Mohammed appeared among them, or the Rose Garden of the Persian Saadi, the Runic Havamaal, the moral Orations of Isocrates, the verses of Phocylides, the Ethics of Aristotle, the Offices of Cicero, or the works of Timour the Great, or of the Emperor Akbar,—if we look into the Sanscrit moral writers, or even turn over the voiceless literature of the insulated and uncommunicating Chinese,—if we note the conversations and remarks of the negro in his torrid plains, or the Esquimaux in his snow-built hut, or the war-loving New Zealander in his pleasant, but uncultivated island—we meet with a surprising identity of thought and judgment, on the ordinary actions and circumstances of man and nature.

* An instance of this appears in the lower orders of the Irish, in the present excitements under which they have been acting. Sir Hussey Vivian thus described them in 1832, before the Committee on the State of Ireland:—

"There is one thing I should wish to notice, and that is the extraordinary carelessness of human life among the lower classes. I have endeavoured to find out whence it arises, that the men who appear so kind in their dispositions, so grateful for any little kindness bestowed upon them, as the lower class of Irish generally are, should exhibit such little apparent reluctance to destroy their fellow-creatures.

"It is a very striking circumstance in Ireland, that a disturbance scarcely ever arises but you hear of the loss of life; yet, during the whole of the disturbances in England, there was but one instance in which a hand was raised against an individual. In Ireland, if you go into their houses, and you are kind to them, they appear grateful beyond measure, and I believe really are so; and yet those very persons would have no sort of hesitation in taking up a stone, and committing murder. The cause of this readiness to sacrifice life should be inquired into."—Dub. Evening Mail, Aug. 1832.

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They seem often like one man moving from region to region, and from one century to another, and penning down in each the same deductions, the same opinions, the same moral reasonings and results.* How this has been accomplished, I cannot explain satisfactorily to myself; for the smallest exertion rouses individual will to debate and opposition. Yet amid all the discord and battle of individual self-will, we have been so formed, and our life so arranged, and such effective means have been put in action, that no one naturally contends that two and two make five, that vice is becoming, or that virtue is a disgrace; that to be a fool is a creditable, or that a knave is an honourable character; though artificial habits and ideas may be adopted, which ingraft variations that make some wrong actions laudable, while such impressions influence.†

By producing so effectually these designed uniformities, our Creator has made abundant provision for our being all human beings of the same general kind; and by subjecting every one

* A beautiful dissuasive against envy by the Persian poet Jami has just met my eye, which I will add as one of the instances of our similarities of thought and moral judgment :—

“ Fate once gave me this disinterested advice. Indeed, there is not a single dispensation of Providence which, if properly viewed, will not afford an excellent lesson : Never (said she) repine at the good fortune of others ; for many are they who wish to be raised to your situation.”

The Persian original of Jami is very elegant and forcible.—Gladw. Asiat. Misc. p. 30.

The poet of Bokhara, Rodoki, presents to us an identity of thought and feeling with Solomon, in the following fine distich on a contemporary friend and poet :—

“ Muradi, alas, is dead ! But no ! he certainly cannot be dead. It is not so easy for death to triumph over such an illustrious man. He has only restored his noble soul to our universal Father. He has only resigned his sordid body to our universal mother.”—Ib. p. 32

† Piracy and robbery of strangers are instances of this sort. When these have been artificially made the sources of subsistence, the mind trained to them from childhood loses its natural feelings against them, and yet often shows the rudiments of what has been suppressed by the bad habits. Thus Lieut. Conolly found a strange medley of hospitality and natural good feeling combined with this exotic rapacity in the Toorkmuns of Asia. “ Your person is sacred, and your life dearer to him than his own, while you are under the shadow of his tent ; but the very man who gives you bread in his tent, will not scruple to fall upon you when you are beyond its precincts. Perhaps at the very moment you are eating his salt, your host is thinking how, on a future occasion, he may transfer a part of your wealth to himself.”—Conolly’s Journey in the North of India. But a Mooselmaun who had been robbed by some Bedouins, said, “ afterward, having nothing, at whatever tent I stayed I got food and a welcome.”—Ib.

of us to the same wants, and causing us all to have the same natural appetites and desires, the general similarity is carefully preserved. So much identity is specially produced by his selected means, acting with constant efficiency to their appointed ends; and so completely do these cause all our race to be human beings of some kind or other, that the most destitute and lowest savage never becomes in his mind, or habits, or occupations, an orang-outang, a simia, or a walrus. One or two wild men of the woods have been found: these are the nearest degradations of man to the animal. Yet this was no voluntary transformation. The lost or abandoned babe had grown up in a forest apart from all human society. None became so under the usual laws of human life. The man that is born and bred among his fellows, of whatever sort, can no more become a monkey or a wild beast, than a horse or a parrot can identify itself with a man.

By an individual process which we cannot detect, every animal is assimilated to its species, and kept from uniformity with any other. This system is peculiarly pursued towards man, with undeviating success. Every division of his population has all the main features and qualities of a human being, and not of the brute animals about them. Each meets the other with this impression and certainty, and acts towards the other as such. So the cultivated European approaches the naked Australian and the poorest negro; and such they mutually find each other to be; though doubt of each other's purposes, and fear of each other's hostility, from their reciprocal ignorance and strangeness, and the excitement of each other's passions, may soon put them into a state of deadly hostility and vindictive battle.*

* We can hardly select a stronger instance of the efficacy and uniformity of the moral constitution of man, and of the adaptation of the appointed course of nature to it, than in that connexion which all ages and climes have found to subsist between wickedness and misery. Our celebrated Junius exclaims, in one of his private letters to Mr. Woodfall, No. 44, "after long experience of the world, I affirm before God, I never knew a rogue who was not unhappy."—Woodfall's Junius, v. i. p. 237.

Juvenal found the same fact to be as true 1,600 years before; for he also says, "*Nemo malus felix*" (no bad man is a happy one).—Satire iv.

In Job's earlier days, and in very different countries, it was the same. "The wicked man travaileth with pain all his days," xv. 16.

"Knowest thou not that of old, since man was placed upon earth, the triumphing of the wicked is short, and the joy of the hypocrite for a moment," xx. 4, 5.

LETTER IX.

Farther Consideration of the Results which have been accomplished in the Execution of the Divine Plan, as to our knowledge, sensations, feelings, and intellectual operations.

It was another part of the plan of our Creator, when he settled his system of human nature, that we should be all, in every age and country, and of every condition, universally and without exception born into this world in total ignorance, and destitute of ideas. The prince, the beggar, the savage, and the most civilized, come into existence in perfect equality and uniformity in this respect. The same rule of nature operates to this end now, as operated in the time of Noah, Theseus, and Semiramis. It has been likewise as invariably ordained that we should acquire all our ideas from our own sensations and emotions, each for himself, as external things act upon us; and that we should thus derive all the knowledge we may possess from the material substances and existences which are about us, which exist independently of us, and which have no necessary or indispensable connexion with any individual. Plato imagined, and has made Socrates intimate, from whom he may have had the notion, that we have all been living in pre-existent states, and come into being here with minds ready stocked with ideas, which events and things in this world only recall and reawaken to our reminiscence;* and it is a rooted opinion among the Hindoo varieties of population, that we are born here out of

In his royal station, David remarked the same: "I have seen the wicked in great power, and spreading himself like a green bay-tree. Yet he passed away. Lo! he was not. I sought him, but he could not be found."—Psalm xxxvii. 35, 36. Everywhere else the same experience occurs, whatever the external aspect or present condition may be.

* Kebes reminds Socrates of his doctrine: "According to what you frequently mention, our learning is nothing else than reminiscence, and we have learned in some former time what we now remember; but this would be impossible, unless our soul had been somewhere else before it came into this human form."

Among other remarks on this, Socrates observes, "If we have received anything before we are born and lose it when born, and afterward,

a preceding life, and die but to transmigrate into another.* But these are mere dreams, which no realities warrant, and deserve no consideration.

We know not when our soul was first created, but we may be all sure from our personal experience, and from studying our filial babes, that it comes into human life without form and void, unshaped and empty, with as little furniture in its mental capacity as it has apparel upon its soft and beautiful body.

None of the subjects of our memory, none of our images or intellectual perceptions, originate to us from our interior nature without the concurrence of something that is exterior to us; none, as far as I can judge, are intuitive within us, though some German psychologists have endeavoured to except two or three abstract conceptions from the general blank.† I think they are deceived, and from an anxiety to

by using our senses concerning it, obtain again the cognition of it, should we not say that this is a recovery of the knowledge which had been familiar to us?

* "When did our souls receive this knowledge? Not since the time we were born here. Then it was anterior to that. Then, O Simmias, our souls existed before they came into this human form, without bodies, and had then intelligence."—Plato Phæd. s. 16-18. This is much insisted on as a favourite idea.

* This was also a main doctrine of Pythagoras; and therefore Ovid makes him say, "I myself was in the Trojan war, as Euphorbus."—Ov. Met. lib. xv. 160. Our ancient Druids had the same belief, which Lucan, in Rowe's pleasing translation, thus mentions of them:

"If dying mortals' doom they sing aright,
No ghosts descend to dwell in dreary night,
No parting souls to grisly Pluto go;
But forth they fly, immortal in their kind,
And other bodies in new worlds they find."

Rowe's Lucan.

In this spirit Taliesin, the old British bard, half a Druid in mind, frequently mentions his own pre-existences.

† Kant led himself to believe, that the ideas, or universal forms of time and space, were connate with him. Professor Hegel, of Berlin, mentioning this, adds—

"Kant once pronounced the strong opinion, that the understanding of man is the *lawgiver* of nature; but others have gone beyond him, and have exulted to possess the forms, categories, and ideas of *all existence* in their laws of thinking, and to develop them *out of human thought*."

"I will not remain behind in this sublime art. I soon drop experience. I raise myself above it, and soar into the open region of thinking *a priori*. Here commences its original, perfect, self-sufficient operation. Here I sit, shaping forms of thought; developing categories and ideas.

start new ideas, deviate largely into the fantastic; but if they were not wrong in their *à priori* theories, the small number of what the most reasonable of their speculatists contend for as connate with human nature, makes very little difference in the vast totality of our unquestionable ignorance.*

We have a wonderful capacity and sensibility for receiving all impressions from without, and for instantaneously forming perceptions from them. Our minds act in this respect with a celerity which we cannot follow, even in thought. But they are vacant until the exterior cause acts upon them, and our sensorial organizations are the channels which have been provided for this surprising agency, and its marvellous, though quite inexplicable effects accruing to us.

The appointed system is, and has ever been, that all our intellectual treasures shall be derivative to us, and shall occur to us after we have begun our human existence, and from all that we experience while it continues. We see that the body grows into its assigned shape and maturity from the exterior matter which accrues to it, and of which the stomach and circulating vessels are made the recipients. Our mind, in like manner, increases as progressively in its sensations and perceptions, and derives these from the impressions of other things, which are not a part of its original self, but which are subsisting externally on our surface, and excite our consciousness of them. These also we did not form, nor so place, as to be the instruments of our knowledge or within our observations. They have been made and stationed there by the same power who created us, and by their position and contiguity, we see that they are where they are, expressly, among other results, that we may have this knowledge and these impressions from them.

On this system of our nature, it is obvious that the soul would have been nothing but its own naked vitality and ca-

It is wonderful and glorious that I possess this original, self-active power of forming ideas out of conceptions *à priori*."

When will the German mind, always so valuable, and once so sound, descend or subside into the realms of correct reason, sober thought, and steady, good, common-sense judgment?

* How wild these German metaphysicians can be, we see from Fichte, one of the most celebrated. "About 1786 he declared, from his professor's chair at Jena, that in five years from that time Christianity would cease to exist, and that reason would become the religion of mankind!" —Theol. Rep. Dec. 1830.

pabilities, if it had been left to itself; and if some external world or other had not been devised and created on purpose to furnish it with all that really makes it an intelligent being.

There is nothing in ourselves to cause this outward world. Our mind or body no more makes a tree or an animal than it makes a man. Their existence is therefore as independent of us as ours is of them. We can plant, breed, and rear in various places, and change the localization of what we nurture by our activity, but we cannot originate any; hence, as it was necessary that there should be an external world of some kind or other, in order to give us knowledge and that intellectual personality which arises from it, so it was equally indispensable that this should be provided for us by some power capable both of devising and providing it. This has been accomplished. There is such an external world daily before us, which we have had no share in producing, and it is thus an evidence sensorially to us, that there is, without us, an intelligent, contriving, and most mighty power, who has visibly been exerting his omnipotence in this respect for our use; for as we did not form the earth we live in, nor did that form the human race, there must be a common framer of both, who has benignly created each, and most skilfully and beautifully adapted the one to the other.*

But what, of all the unbounded possibilities of things and forms, which the almighty Creator could conceive and make, this world should be framed to be, and therefore of what our knowledge and sensations from it should consist, and consequently what sort of intellectual beings the human race should become, were points which our Creator had to determine, when he made both us and our globe.

All these things would depend solely on his choice, and

* It is interesting to find impressions of this kind among the great men among our forefathers. One of these, Sir Thomas Browne, thus expresses his feelings:—

"There are two books, from which I collect my divinity. The one, written of God; the other, of his servant nature, that universal manuscript which he has expanded to the eyes of all. But I never so forget God as to adore the name of nature. The effects of nature are the works of God, whose hand and instrument only she is; and therefore, to ascribe his actions unto her, is to devolve the honour of the principal agent upon the instrument. If we may do this with reason, then let our hammers rise up, and boast that they have built our houses; and let our pens receive the honour of our writing."—Browne's *Religio Medici*.

would be settled and resolved upon by him, according as he determined what we and our world should be. On this subject, a very important part of our sacred history, a few observations shall be submitted to you.

Our Creator settled what the ideas and knowledge of his human race should consist of, by selecting and forming the external objects, from which our minds were to receive their impressions and influences. By these, through their agencies upon us, he becomes the former of our minds, as well as of our bodies. His creations represent in material things his ideas, and, by their effects upon us, convey these ideas into our mind; and as we study the science which they display, we become participators of it. His thoughts, as exhibited in them, then become our thoughts, and a similitude is thereby begun between the human mind and his almighty one. By their instrumentality, he causes our intellectual spirit to resemble his own, so far as we study and make ourselves truly acquainted with his external nature, and its laws and operations; for we cannot gain any knowledge from these, but what must be the process and thoughts of their Maker's mind. This cannot fail to be the result to us, because we can only know what exists; and nothing exists but what he has planned and created, and his creations are the product of his divine deliberations and will. Hence our knowledge of them will always be the acquisition and knowledge of such of his ideas and determinations as he has chosen that visible nature shall represent and communicate to us.*

* Some beautiful lines of Pope occur at this moment to my mind, in which he says, that the man, who

"Looks through nature up to nature's God,
Pursues that chain which links th' immense design;
Joins heaven and earth; the mortal and divine." 4

This observer—

"Sees that no being any bliss can know,
But touches some above, and some below;
Learns from this union of the rising whole,
The first, last purpose of the human soul;
And knows that faith, law, morals, all began,
All end, in love of God and love of man."

Then, as he finely pursues the theme,

"Wide and more wide th' o'erflowings of the mind
Take every creature in of every kind.

Thus it is that he lays the foundation of the human mind's becoming assimilated to his mind. On this plan of our deriving our knowledge from his works, and having it from no other source, and being surrounded with these and by nothing else, except our own additions, the more we know of them, the more we know of himself, and the more our ideas will be similar to his, so far as they are justly formed from what he has made and actuates.

Every new world will, as it becomes duly known to us, augment this similitude; and this will be enlarged as we combine the study of his ways and of his revelations, with that of his works. We shall find him to be as active and as discernible in his providential as he is in his natural operations, if we cultivate that divine philosophy which I am recommending to your attention; more especially if we study also his own exposition of his wishes and mind in his communications to us. In proportion to our successful progress in these contemplations, we shall find human nature to become more and more that image and likeness of himself, which, at our creation, he declared that it should be; and to which, notwithstanding the many impediments that have been obstructing the process, it is still continually and steadily advancing. To this perfection the great spirits of our race express themselves to aspire.*

From this view of the origin and nature of our knowledge, we shall perceive that it has been as specially devised and provided for us, as our limbs or senses are.

The provision, indeed, limits as well as supplies it; because we cannot attain more than what these provided means afford. We cannot expand nature into any greater fulness or magnitude. We must be content with it as it is; but this

Earth smiles around with boundless bounty blest,
AND HEAVEN BEHOLDS ITS IMAGE IN HER BREAST."

Essay on Man, B. 4.

Thus, both morally and intellectually, by our feelings and by our perceptions, our Creator is ever drawing us into a resemblance to himself.

* Sir Thomas Browne may again claim our notice: "It is on the microcosm of my own frame that I cast mine eye. The mass of flesh which surrounds me limits not my mind: while I study to find out how I am a little world, I find myself something more than the great one. There is surely a piece of divinity within us. There is something which was before the elements, and which owes no homage to the sun. Nature, as well as the Scripture, tells me, that I am the image of God."—Rel. Med.

need not dissatisfy us, for though we are confined to what we thus have, the quantity to be attained is far more abundant within its limitations than any human beings have yet acquired, or are ever likely to possess. The supply surpasses the power of our allotted duration here to accumulate. This attainable knowledge has been limited to those sensations which we obtain from this external world by means of our five senses, to the perceptions and emotions thence arising, and to the action of our soul upon these materials in its exercises of memory, reasoning, and imagination. This is certainly a very special limitation ; but to prevent its being detrimental to us, nature has been made so surprisingly multifarious, that we never shall exhaust it. The most numerous class of our sensations is that of sight, and this is confined to the agency of light upon the visual organizations of our eyes. All the knowledge which we derive from these, is but the knowledge of the effects of light from the outward object on our ocular nerves and on the soul in its association with them, from their affections or sensibilities. It has been fixed by our Creator, that the largest portion of our knowledge on earth should be of this luminous and nervous origin and nature. This agency gives us a full notice of the existence of external things ; and excites our soul, by the instrumentality of its visual mechanism, to become conscious of clear and exact images of exterior figures, and colours, and motions, and positions. It causes our mind, by some unknown process, to perceive these ; to form distinct and appropriated images of each object ; to remember them, and to think upon them, and to reason and fancy with them as we please.

All this is obviously a very artificial result, and composes to us a very artificial species of knowledge, and yet it answers all our purposes of life, thought, and comfort. In some mysterious and inexplicable way, it occasions each of us to have in our minds an ideal world, exactly portraying, according to all appearance and probability, the external and substantial world, from which we have derived our intellectual copy. It is on this interior copy that we usually think and act. We refer to its original, and compare it with that, whenever we choose to direct our optical organs to a re-examination of what we have already perceived from it. By so doing, we correct and improve our mental images from it ; but no one seems to have any knowledge of the external

things among which he is living and acting, except so far as he has made from them his own personal, internal, ideal representations. The more correctly we form these within us, the more exact and certain is our knowledge.

If our imagerical perception of any thing is imperfectly made, our knowledge of it will be as defective, and therefore untrue. In most things, we all appear to form correctly an interior conception of the same things; yet individual differences in this respect sometimes appear, so as to almost make us doubt if the same persons have been viewing the same thing: but this diversity arises, not from an error in the sense, but from hasty, inaccurate, or insufficient observation.*

The next greatest branch of our appointed knowledge during our human life, is that which arises to us from the sensations of sound; a most rich and valuable invention and provision for our delight and benefit; for to those we are indebted for our speech and music, both inestimable, and both given only to the human race, as no other animal can so produce and use them; though all seem to have the sense of hearing, and all quadrupeds and birds, and many insects and reptiles, and even some fish, can make sonorous utterances to express their passions and their feelings. The songster individuals of the feathered race form one exception as to the musical intonations, from the rest of their order of beings, and from the other brute animals; and sweet and delightful are their natural melodies; but they are so uniform to each, so simple, so limited, and so unvaried, that although they have a musical effect, and may have suggested the invention and use of vocal music to mankind, yet they have no claim to the soul-moving art and science which we distinguish by this appellation. In those birds which sing,

* It is the error of Condillac's system, and of that of his followers, to reduce man to his sensations alone, and to lead them to fancy that nothing is existing but the individual and his ideas. M. Royer Collard, in 1811, attacked this fallacy, according to which, "if an external world really exists, it is not visible to us. Man only feels his different sensations, odour, taste, colour, &c. There exists nothing but a sensibility differently affected. The individual only is existing. He sees and feels himself alone. Extension has no more reality than sounds or smells." — *Damiron's Philos. en France*. Condillac's mistake arose from not perceiving or believing that both things exist: both the external world, and also our sensorial and ideal one, made gradually by our spirit from it, and faithfully representing it to us.

the power and the notes are of the same instinctive character as their migrations and other habits ; they neither invent, compare, arrange, nor diversify their strains. Each singing bird has one, oftenest but one succession of his pleasing notes, which he is always repeating, and which his descendants in like manner reiterate without any change or addition, and appear to have done so from their creation to the present day. The philomela of antiquity was the same, and but the same

" Sweet bird, who shuns the noise of folly,
Most musical, most melancholy,"

with the same plaintive tones, and in the same evening portion of our natural day, as the bulbul of Persia, and the little nightingale of our lanes and groves ; always interesting, but never improving. Nor have any feathered warblers ever been found to sing intentionally together, and to attempt a duet or a trio in unison, or in adapted harmonies. Both speech and music may, therefore, be considered as the donations of our Creator exclusively to his human population, and as specially intended and devised for their use and enjoyment, with a specific construction of the nerves and muscles of their larynx, in order that they may have the faculty of mutual conversation and of vocal music ; for the gift seems to depend more upon this part of our body than on the mechanism of the ear, as several animals discover a gratified sensibility to human music, and many are perceptive of the tones and even of some of the meanings of our voice, though utterly incompetent to imitate either.*

But universal as speech and music are, and though in some form or other mankind have been using them, ever since they began to inhabit this terrestrial globe, nothing in

* "Theophrastus remarks of the hearing sense, that it is more than all the others connected with the passions of the soul, for nothing that is seen, or touched, or tasted, brings on us such excitements, disturbances, or sudden frights, as those which occur when some noises, and sounds, and shrill echoes fall on the ear. But it is still more applicable to the reason than it is to the passions."—Plut. de Audit. v. l. p. 65. From the possible effect of selected vocal tones on the mind, Plutarch tells us, that "the sophists, in order to allure and interest their hearers, took great pains to soften and modulate their voices by the sweetest musical accents, and soothing tones, and harmonized modifications which they could practise." By this artful management, they won the attention of the young to their captivating elocution.—Ib. 67.

nature is more mysterious and surprising than their production and effect.

We call them modifications of sound, and we have traced a connexion between them and vibratory impulses, and have ascertained many important laws to which they are subservient; but all that we have discovered on this subject furnishes us with no real elucidation of the origin and cause of the phenomena. We know not what sound is; it is as yet but a name, to which we apply the observations and reasonings which we have made upon the effects we experience upon it; but of which we have in truth discerned no more, than that our auditory organs feel such sensations, and that our soul makes such perceptions, from them; but the hidden cause remains just as concealed from us as it has always been. We designate it by the name of sound. We have traced one most curious relation which it has with light, and we can as yet get no farther. It may be the luminous fluid itself, for what we know, which is now found to have undulations with some analogies to those of sound, or it may be the electric fluid, or it may be something else; we cannot tell what it is; we can only call it by the name sound, and speak of it as such. Its invisibility precludes at present all farther knowledge of it, and we must leave it to our posterity to find out, if they can, what it really and specifically is, and whether it is, as we suppose, a distinct and *sui generis* something, or only a modification or quality of some of those ethereal subjects that we are a little more acquainted with.

These two senses supply us with by far the largest quantity of our knowledge of all descriptions. Our taste and smell add also that which arises from the impressions made upon their peculiar organs; and the sense of feeling, which by an admirable distribution of our nervous fibres is diffused over all the surface of our body, and which is made particularly minute and delicate in our fingers, contributes likewise, from their sensitivity to heat and cold and contact, to increase the number and variety of our intellectual perceptions. It is a kind peculiarity attached to all our sensorial organs, that their action and the acquisition of the knowledge thence derived, have been made pleasurable to us. Continual comfort is the result of the natural action of all our bodily powers and functions; and thus the formation of our knowledge is

but a succession of placid enjoyment accruing to us as it occurs.

But all the materials and causes of whatever knowledge we may acquire, are those which have been, without any concert with us, chosen and appointed to be that knowledge which human beings should possess.

We may attain as little or as much of this as we may please, or have opportunities of gaining ; but we cannot have any other. All its constituent elements, all the sources and means of it, have been specially chosen for us and made to occur to us, or to be always accessible to us, in order that it may form us to be that particular kind of being which makes a human nature.

Our pains and pleasures have been also the subjects of the divine consideration, choice, and appointing will. None of these are native in the soul ; they all accrue to it from its body and from its present external world ; and they only occur to it so far as they have been provided for, and as special organizations have been made in our body, in order that they may take place.

Thus the most frequent and repeated gratification which we experience during our human life, is that derived from our daily food. This occurs to us every day whenever we eat, and never ceases till we die. But nothing has been more specially, carefully, and exuberantly provided for us ; and this pleasure arises entirely from a most artificial fabrication of functions and organs within us, for the express purpose of occasioning this effect. The pleasure was not necessary to the benefit. The sustenance which our bodies required might have been made to pass into us like the air into our lungs, without any sensation or gratifying effect. Even what we take might have been received by our mouth and stomach without any attendant pleasure. But it has been the choice and kind determination of our Creator, that continual gratification should attend the means of our nutrition, and that our food should be pleasurable as well as useful to us and to all animal classes, and that this should be the main supply of our sensorial enjoyments.

But to accomplish his own wishes in this respect, and to cause this satisfaction to arise continually to us, very great exertions of contriving thought, curious mechanism, and extensive adaptations were required. He had so to arrange

and distribute the nerves of our body in one particular portion of it, and so to devise and combine the fitted muscular agencies and salival glands, and so to connect these with the nutritive functions and arrangement of our system, that both the mental gratification and the bodily utility should occur to us, from what we should put for these purposes into our mouth. Having thus provided the means and certainty of our having this grateful sensibility and benefit, the more difficult and complicated devising and operation were then to be performed ; and this was, so to construct and compose a sufficient number and quantity of external things, and with such properties, that they should serve us for pleasure-giving aliment. Had he chosen this to be only one thing, like grass or water, the performance would have been, though wonderful at all times, yet comparatively easy. He has preferred this simple mode of agreeable nutriment for the brute creation ; some of these may be taught to take more things than one, but the general appointment of their nature is a very limited uniformity of food ; as the nutrition of the vegetable classes arises solely, or nearly so, from the common elements of carbon and water, under the due influence of the proper degrees of heat and light, which all organized beings require,—man, animal, or plant.

For his human race our Maker has been pleased to exert on this point a most generous benevolence, most pointedly and intentionally for the express and single object of causing to us a rich variety of multifarious and diversified gratifications.

It would be tedious and scarcely possible to enumerate all the vegetables, and animals, and fluids which he has made to be eatable and digestible by our appropriated organs ; salubrious as alimentary substances, and pleasurable to us in the act of feeding and deglutition, as well as generally so to our eye and smell. They invite us by their appearance for the most part, and they delight us by the sensorial enjoyment which they excite. But what a multiplicity of invention and foresight, what a minute contriving, what varied and delicate workmanship were necessary in order to make all those things such that they should produce these agreeable sensations on the nervous matter of our bodies, as it was placed and spread for that purpose in our palate, tongue, and throat !—for the peculiar mechanism in this particular

part of our frame was as essential to the production of this effect, as the nervous matter that was so distributed, or the natural substance which is received into it. Nervous matter alone, of itself, without this specially-adapted position and organization of it, will not give us the pleasure of taste. Our fingers and outward skin are full of the most delicate nerves. But though Turks and Arabs and some savage nations dip their hands in all their food, and take it thus without using fork or spoon, yet none of them feel any pleasure from the manual contact of their most gratifying viands. Thus a most beneficent trouble has been taken by our Creator, for the sole purpose of providing for us a never-ceasing source of daily enjoyment, in a most multiplied form, from our nutritive food.*

But the grand and perennial fountain of all our knowledge of external nature, in all its departments, must be from its sensorial impressions on us; and the Creator has appointed to all, that sensation in the soul, from the special organizations of the five senses, which he has made a part of every human frame, shall be the origin of all our physical knowledge. Lord Bacon was, therefore, as philosophically right in urging mankind to build their science on experimental inquiries, as the modern Germans and others are wrong in

* It is a curious fact, that our very foibles have been allowed to be pleasurable to us in some degree while they last, although we are continually invited to repress and correct them, by the still greater pleasure and benefit which will be found to arise from their removal; and this circumstance seems to arise from their being not illaudable feelings in that degree in which they are harmless, and from their becoming noble emotions as soon as they are wisely modified and virtuously employed.

Our vanity is one of this description:

"Meanwhile opinion gilds with varying rays
Those painted clouds which beautify our days;
Each want of happiness by hope supplied;
And each vacuity of sense by pride."

Pope's Essay on Man.

Most true is this last line. The weakest mind I ever knew was also the vainest. Savage nations illustrate Pope's remark almost universally. Mr. West mentions of the North American Indians, "They often say to a European, You are *almost* as clever as an Indian."—Journal, p. 142. This corresponds with Franklin's account of the Copper Indians: "Old Keskannah, as the exordium of one of his speeches, said, 'It is very strange that I never meet with any one who is equal in sense to myself.'—Frank. Journey, p. 288. The poor savage makes us smile at the undisguised bluntness of this avowal of his self-partiality; but might he not turn round and ask us, 'Pray, which of you does not think the same?'"

labouring to raise up an *à priori* school, and to make us retrograde into the verbal subtleties and ideal nothings of the obsolete schoolmen and of the Aristotelian logician, who argued in good set forms and terms in metaphysical battle, instead of looking into nature for facts, and patiently watching and noticing her real phenomena, and of reasoning justly from these. It is not the law of the Creator that sound knowledge shall accrue to us in any other way than from our experimental investigations, and from the warranted inferences which a careful judgment deduces from these.

The ancients would not submit to the labour of such inquiries. They were actuated too much by vainglory to do so. They wanted personal display and popular admiration; and rhetoric and disputation continually furnished these. Hence few took the paths of experiment, or made knowledge, for itself alone, the object of their pursuit. Aristotle, in his Natural History and Politics, set an example which his other works counteracted; and the Alexandrian astronomers observed the stars. In the other sciences, nature was not studied by actual examination, except by some in the anatomy of the human frame; and there experiment was attempted to be practised with an atrocious cruelty which the mind shudders to read of.*

But here again the uniformity of our moral feelings, of our moral perceptions, our moral judgment, and all that unite to constitute in us a moral sense, strikingly appears to have counteracted the barbarity, and prevented it from becoming general or permanent. Though one sect argued for it, yet it was stoutly opposed by others, and by common feeling, and only brought discredit on the art of anatomy itself. The empirical branch of the profession zealously condemned it,† and justly reasoned that the agonies and

* After narrating the opinions of the chief sects of the ancient physicians, Celsus adds, of the rational or philosophical sort of them, "They are of opinion that, as in the inward parts diseases arise, it is necessary to cut open dead bodies; and they extol Herophilus and Eristatus, who dissected criminals alive, given from prisons by the authority of kings; and while breath yet remained, examined parts that nature had concealed."—Celsus, Hist. Med. in his general Preface.

† They urged, "To open men alive is not only useless, but the greatest cruelty. It is perverting an art which has the glory of protecting the health of mankind, to torment them, and that in the most terrible manner; especially when what is sought for with so much brutality, partly cannot be known at all, and partly may be learned without this barbarity."—Celsus, *ib.*

death of men under such dissection, could give no true knowledge.* Celsus adds his reprobation of the cruelty, and there is no part of the human population that would not concur in prohibiting it,—with such unerring similitude do we all think and feel from the moral constitution of our nature.

No separate chronometers can act with more according precision than we are framed to do. The agreement between the thinking minds of all nations, on the great ethical principles of life, is surprising, considering that every one is born a distinct and self-forming individual. Some may rob and murder, or seize their fellow-creatures for slaves; but every one dislikes himself to be robbed, murdered, or enslaved, and fiercely condemns and resists the immoral action when attempted to be practised on himself. The seducer of another's daughter or wife feels the act to be an abomination when turned on his own, and vindictively punishes it. All who practise vice themselves, perceive it to be revolting and degrading in others, and despise them for committing it. Wonderful has been the creative plan and management by which these results have been so steadily and are yet so universally produced!

You will perceive by these remarks that our sensations, perceptions, and knowledge, peculiarly arise to our mind by the instrumentality and affections of that internal part of our body which forms its nervous system. Without our nerves we should not have a single sensation nor a single idea.† But what is still more extraordinary is, that it is not nervous matter, merely as such, which occasions them; for it is one of the surprising discoveries of our contemporaries that we have two distinct descriptions of nerves within us; those to

* "It is much more probable that the inward parts are changed under such terrible wounds and butchery. Upon dividing the diaphragm the man immediately expires, and so the mangling operator sees only the bowels and thorax of a dead man. Thus the physician can only boast of cruelly murdering a man, not of knowing the state of viscera during life."—Celsus, *Hist. Med.*

† "In the higher manifestations of life, nervous matter is invested with the most eminently vital attributes. It is the exclusive seat of the various modes of sensation, and of all the intellectual operations. Its two offices, of conducting motive impressions from the central seat of the will to the muscles, and of propagating sensations from the surface of the body and the external organs of sense, to the sensorium commune, have been, of late years, shown to reside in distinct portions of nervous substance."—Dr. W. C. Henry's Report on the *Physiology of the Nervous System*, in *British Assoc. Rep.* for 1833, p. 62.

which we owe all our sensations, and those from which none originate, but which are nerves of motion only, not of feeling.*

The latter produce and perform all our voluntary and involuntary movements. The former provide us with all our intellectual impressions and sensibilities. What this difference depends upon—in what the nervous matter or its fibrils or arrangements is so varied and modified as to occasion motivity without sensation in the one, and sensation without the motive office in the other, our men of science have not yet ascertained; but they have distinguished already some important facts as to this department of our most artificial nature, of which you may like to have a brief notice here.

The BRAIN is gradually formed in our foetal state, and gradually enlarges afterward;† but it is in itself generally so insensible, that large portions of its important parts may be cut away during life without causing pain or emotion.‡ The total abstraction of it produced insensibility;§ but yet without this loss and state being accompanied by immediate death.|| The memory and our spontaneous volition are thought to be most connected with the lobes of the brain.¶

* "The honour of this discovery, doubtless the most important accession to physiological knowledge since the time of Harvey, belongs exclusively to Sir Charles Bell."—Dr. Henry, p. 62.

† "The brain of the human foetus is gradually evolved in the successive months of uterine existence. These successive increments of cerebral matter are found to be accompanied by parallel advances in the manifestation of the higher instincts, and of the mental faculties."—*Ib.* p. 90.

‡ "M. Flourens removed cautiously successive thin slices of cerebral matter. He found that the hemispheres of the brain might be thus cut away, including the corpora striata and thalami optici, without apparently occasioning any pain to the animal, and without exciting convulsive motions."—*Ib.* p. 65.

§ "Entire removal of the cerebrum induces a state resembling coma. The animal appears plunged in a profound sleep, being wholly lost to external impressions, and incapable of originating motion."—*Ib.*

|| M. Flourens has stated, "that an animal deprived of that organ, when violently struck, has the air of awakening from sleep; and if pushed forward, continues to advance, after the impelling force must have been wholly expended."—*Ib.* M. Bouillaud also found "that animals entirely deprived of brain were awakened by being struck, and gave evident indications of suffering when exposed to any cause of physical pain."—*Ib.* p. 66.

¶ "It was Cuvier's conclusion, in his report to the Academy of Sciences on Flourens' paper, that the lobes are the abode of memory. They would also seem to be the part in which those motions which flow from spontaneous acts of the mind, have their origin."—*Ib.* p. 65.

Yet its anterior lobes may be destroyed without the senses losing their power of receiving impressions, and without the still-living creature ceasing to be conscious of them.* "The anterior or frontal part of the brain is hence inferred to be the seat of several intellectual faculties."† The functions of the eye depend greatly on the part called the tubercula quadrigemina.‡

The CEREBELLUM, at the back part of our brain, is most connected with our bodily movements.‡

The MEDULLA OBLONGATA is essentially concerned in the functions of our breathing, which cannot be continued without it; and it co-operates in what is performed by the spinal marrow.||

It seems to be the most important part of the brainous system in all the functional operations of our frame.¶

"The vital offices of the SPINAL MEDULLA are now reduced to conveying to the muscles the motive impulse of volition, and to propagating to the sensorium commune, impressions made on the external senses."** "It does not originate muscular motions. It is divided by a double furrow into two lateral halves; and each of these is again subdivided into two columns, one posterior and one anterior."†† The sensations

* "Animals thus mutilated, feel, see, hear, and smell; are easily alarmed; and execute a number of voluntary acts; but cease to recognise the persons or objects which surround them. They no longer seek food, or perform any action announcing a combination of ideas."—Dr. Henry, p. 66.

† "Its removal occasions a state resembling Idiotism, characterized by the loss of the power of discriminating external objects; which, however, co-exists with the faculties of sensation."—Ib. p. 66.

‡ "The tub. quad. preside over the motions of the iris; and their integrity seems essential even to the functions of the retina."—Ib. p. 90.

§ "It may be regarded as nearly established by modern researches, that the cerebellum is more or less directly connected with the function of locomotion. Rolando found that injuries of the cerebellum were always followed by diminished motive power."—Ib. p. 68.

|| "The medulla oblongata exercises the office of originating and regulating the motions essential to the act of respiration."—Ib. p. 91. "It is continuous in structure with the spinal marrow, and enjoys, by this relation, the same function of propagating motion and sensation."—Ib. p. 72.

¶ "The cerebrum may act without the cerebellum; and this latter organ continues to regulate the motions of the body, after the removal of the cerebrum; but the functions of neither survive the destruction of the medulla oblongata, which seems to be the common bond and central knot, combining all the individual parts of the nervous system into one whole."—Ib. p. 72.

** Ib. p. 74.

†† Ib. p. 75.

from external things are conveyed to the soul by the posterior columns; and by the anterior ones, its will directs and produces the movements of its limbs and body.*

The nervous roots and their continued fibres or extensions spring separately from these distinct columns, and carry with them, as they spread and branch, their several properties and functions; the one sensorial, the other motive.† "There is no necessary dependance of the motions of the heart, and the other involuntary muscles, on the spinal marrow."‡

Of the NERVES, some are nerves of motion only, and are confined to the performance of it; § others, and a large number, are nerves both of motion and sensation, which proceed in their distinct columns from the spinal medulla; || a few nerves minister to the senses of sight, smell, and hearing. ¶ Here again is a remarkable instance of the designing and factitious structure, and specific composition and appropriation of every part of our frame. "The olfactory, auditory, and optic nerves, are gifted with a special sensibility to the objects of the external senses to which they respectively minister. The one receives sensations from what is odour, and from that only; the second from sound, and from sound alone; the third solely from the impressions of sight; but

* Henry, p. 76. "These two vital offices reside in distinct portions of the spina medulla—the propagation of motion in its anterior columns, the transmission of sensations in its posterior columns."—Ib. p. 91.

† "Thus, each spinal nerve is furnished with a double series of roots; one set of which have their origin in the anterior medullary column, and one in the posterior. In consequence of this anatomical composition, the spinal nerves are nerves of twofold functions, containing, in the same sheath, distinct continuous filaments from both columns."—Ib. p. 76.

‡ Ib. p. 91.

§ "The class of nerves exercising the single office of conveying motion, comprehends the third, fourth, sixth, portio dura of the seventh, the ninth, and perhaps two divisions of the eighth, viz. the glossopharyngeal and spinal accessores."—Ib. p. 80. "Three of these nerves, the third, sixth, and ninth, arise from a tract of medullary matter, continuous with the anterior column of the spinal marrow."—Ib. p. 83.

|| "There are thirty-two pairs of nerves, which possess the twofold office of communicating motion and sensation. All of these, excepting one, the fifth pair of the cerebral nerves, spring from the spinal marrow. These thirty-one pairs are all constituted of two distinct series of roots; one from the anterior column, and one from the posterior column, of the spinal marrow."—Henry, p. 83.

¶ "This division comprises the first and second pairs, and the portio mollis of the seventh pair."—Ib. p. 91.

although exquisitely sensitive of these several things, neither of them has any sensation, any feeling from the touch. These nerves are insensible to ordinary stimulants, and possess an exclusive sensibility to their respective objects—odorous matter, light, and aerial undulation.^{17*}

The remainder of the nerves form the ganglionic system, or, according to Bichat, are nerves of organic life. These are comprised in the great sympathetic nerve, and its associated plexuses and ganglia; but the functions of these are at present matter of discussion and conjecture.[†]

I have submitted the observations and facts in this letter to your attention, in order that by studying yourself, and the origin of the knowledge and ideas which you already possess, you may perceive, and personally feel and keep in mind the grand truth, that human nature is not a casual, an undesignated, or a common or necessary course of things, or could have arisen in that way; but that it is in all respects as much intellectual as bodily, a special, a chosen, and an artificial mode of being, devised by its Creator to be so; and specifically formed and caused in every one, by a vast series and complication of specific agencies and causations, successively operating to produce the very compound and particular results which appear in ourselves and in all. It is this perception and conviction, that we are such factitious results from such special provisions purposely devised, made, and arranged, in order to cause us to be what we are, that will give us the more adequate and intimate sense of the creating mind and power of the Deity; which will most strongly lead the understanding to a due recognition of him, and to an habitual adoration and attachment to him as an indispensable REALITY; without which, such a world, and such an order of beings as ours, could not have come into existence.

* Henry, p. 91. "Magendie seems to have been the first to prove, experimentally, that they do not share the common or tactile sensibility. He found the olfactory nerves, like the hemispheres of the brain from which they spring, insensible to pressure, pricking, or even laceration. The optic nerve, and the expansion on the retina, were as insensible to stimulants. The acoustic nerve was also touched, pressed, and even torn, without causing pain."—*ib.* p. 87.

† I quote Dr. Henry's report on this interesting subject, as the most concise, judicious, and correct summary of the modern discoveries on it that I have read, with a very candid statement of the claims and authenticated results of each discoverer.

LETTER X.

Considerations on the Plan and Appointment of the Creator as to the Division of Human kind into two Sexes—Review of the distinct Nature and Qualities of each.

MY DEAR SON,

THUS far we have been surveying some of the great principles on which human nature has been constituted, and which have been found to operate, steadily and efficaciously, to fulfil their divine Author's intentions. None have failed: they are continuing to act now as freshly and as vigorously as ever, but with more abundant results, as the human mind improves from their agency, and as our enlarging population and activity are diversifying and multiplying the objects and success of man's emulating and highly cultivated spirit. It is the operation of such principles which forms the real sacred history of the world; for this, in its incidents, only elucidates the workings of the intellectual springs and freely-combined mechanism and established powers, by which human beings are actuated, their transactions produced, and their improvements effectuated. But what we have been contemplating is only a part of the great system of our terrestrial nature. Other interesting portions of the divine plan remain to be considered, and one of the most important of these will be the subject of the present letter.

It has been appointed from the origin of our race, that it should be divided into two sexes of different temperament and character, with a corresponding distinction of powers and qualities in each. This has been made the law of the whole animated kingdom; but it is among human kind, that its moral and intellectual operations are most perspicuously displayed.

This also has been a deliberate choice, and not a necessity. Each individual, like each plant, might have produced its own successor; or if there were to be two such species of human beings, each sex might have evolved a descendant like itself. Males might have had a male ancestor alone, and females one of their own kind only. Deucalion and

Pyrrha were fabled to have thus produced the new race of mankind from the pebbles which they severally threw behind them.*

On this plan there would have been two sets of human beings, as separate from each other as eagles and pheasants are; but this mode of origin would have soon sprung up into divergences, the consequences of which we cannot calculate. One effect, however, we may say, would have ensued, that neither sex would have become what it now is. Each would have differed so much in habits, nurture, and feelings, from what they now are, and from each other, that they might never have associated in sympathy, nor have long continued in amity together.

To prevent the disadvantageous result of such a division and distinctness of origin, it has been made an unaltering principle in the divine creation of human nature, that all mankind shall be of one blood and of one descent,† with perpetually attaching sympathies thence arising towards each other; and therefore that both sexes shall be born from the same mother, and have the same father: although such an appointment required a most peculiar and complicated contrivance and creative sagacity, in order to carry it into universal and unceasing effect, through all the successions of the human duration.

Most special, indeed, must have been the devised provisions to ensure such a perpetuated result. For that it might never fail, it has also been necessary that the two sexes should be kept alive in equal number, and therefore be born so as to preserve this mutual proportion with each other,—a circumstance which the Creator made more difficult to himself by his laws of death, taking each away at all ages of their earthly existence, and by his assigning to them such different forms and offices of their bodily structure. It so happens in life, that from their more violent or consuming habits and occupations, the general mortality of males exceeds that of females. In order to prevent this consequence from altering their average equality, it became therefore ex-

* See Letter XVI. of this volume, note.

† When St. Paul expressed this truth to the Areopagus of Athens (*Acts xvii. 26*), it must have surprised them as much as his declaration of the final resurrection, for it formed no part of the theories of any of the ancient philosophers, nor of the popular mythologies.

pedient that rather more of the male sex should be born. By such an arrangement, the little inequalities of births and deaths would correct each other, and the balance be preserved between these two classes of the human population.

Now, on reference to the statistical tables of our own nation and of Europe on this subject, we find all these laws and provisions everywhere in effective operation. In England and Wales, and in the smaller adjacent isles, the two sexes come into existence in nearly equal numbers, and with the difference in favour of the male sex.* In France and elsewhere, we observe the same result.† The calculations of the proportions of births, in various countries, present average numbers to us that differ in each, because the ratio of the deaths have similar variations.‡ For we find that more males die within any particular period than females,§

* In the Population Abstract ordered to be printed by the House of Commons in 1833, of the Parish Register Returns, digested and reduced into order with so much ability and correctness by Mr. Rickman, we have these authenticated facts on this subject :

In ENGLAND, during ten years, from 1821 to 1830, there were baptized 1,832,721 males, and 1,756,663 females.—Vol. iii. p. 412. In WALES during the same time, 83,949 males, and 76,666 females, p. 483. In the BRITISH ISLES of Guernsey, Jersey, and the adjacent ones, 15,096 males, and 14,409 females, p. 492.

† Thus, in France during the fifteen years from 1817 to 1831, there were born 7,490,931 males, and 7,041,247 females.—Ann. Long. for 1834. In Denmark in 1828, the boys born were 19,954, the girls 18,840.—Bull. Univ. 1830, p. 248. In the Prussian Provinces on the Rhine, the proportions born in 1828 were 40,893 boys, and 38,348 girls.—Ib. 435. At Brussels in 1833, the males born were 2,092, and the females 1,931.

‡ The general proportion of the births of the different sexes in Europe has been thus calculated : For every 100 GIRLS born, there have been born the following number of BOYS :

In Russia, 109 ; Prussia, 107 ; in Sicily, Austria, Pomerania, Brandenburg, France, and Holland, 106 ; in Sweden, between 104 and 105 ; and in Great Britain, rather more than 104.

§ Mr. Rickman's Abstract states, that in ENGLAND in the ten years from 1821 to 1830, there were buried 1,193,461 males, and 1,155,665 females. During the eighteen years from 1813 to 1830 were buried 1,599,694 males, and 1,848,048 females.—V. iii. p. 412.

In WALES, during eighteen years from 1813 to 1830, the buried were 96,591 males and 94,253 females.—P. 483.

In both ENGLAND and WALES taken together, during the ten years from 1821 to 1830, there were buried 1,251,105 males and 1,211,802 females.—P. 486.

In the British Isles of Guernsey, Jersey, &c., the buried during these ten years were 9,077 males, and 8,933 females.—P. 492.

In London for these ten years the burials were 160,242 males, and 152,250 females ; and during the eighteen years from 1813 to 1830, there

although on this point, from circumstances probably local, there are local diversities.* But amid all the fluctuations, either in the nativities into human life, or in the departures from it, the existing numbers of the whole population in every civilized country where nature has her undisturbed operation, are as nearly upon a level as to each sex, as, in such an ever-floating series of moveable incidents, an equality can be maintained.†

Here, again, human sagacity is baffled in its attempts to discern, not only how it is that different sexes can proceed from the same parent, and that a maternal one; but likewise, by what more particular causation it is, that more males shall thus constantly be born, because more die; and always as many more as shall everywhere maintain the general

were buried 233,310 males, and 219,836 females.—P. 494. So in 1828, in the Prussian Rhine Provinces, 26,843 males died, and but 25,874 females.—Bull. Univ. 1830, p. 435.

* It appears that in some of the counties in England more females die than males within certain periods, as in Bedford, in the ten years before mentioned, the proportion stands—males, 7,632; females, 8,178; and in eighteen years from 1813 to 1830, males, 12,508; females, 13,486.—P. 6. So in Bucks, for the same periods, males, 12,657; females, 13,736; males, 21,384; females, 33,923.—P. 24. Cumberland, males, 14,669; females, 14,951; males, 25,502; females, 26,017.—P. 54. In Derby, for the ten years, the proportion was—males, 19,954; females, 20,154; but in the eighteen years it was on the more usual ratio of males, 33,283, and 33,198 females.—P. 61. It varied in the same manner in the county of Gloucester. That, in counties so different in all respects from each other as Bucks and Cumberland, more females should die, may be assumed to arise from local circumstances in each.

A greater mortality of females occurs also in the county of Northampton. In the ten years, 15,870 males and 16,604 females were buried; and in the eighteen, 26,578 males, and 27,967 females, p. 235. Rutland has the same peculiarity, p. 264. Somerset, likewise, where the burials in the ten years were 32,362 males, and 33,317 females; and in the eighteen years, 53,904 males, and 55,298 females, p. 291. Suffolk, p. 324. Westmoreland, p. 354. Wilts, p. 367. Thus, in eleven English counties more women die than men in a given time; but in the others more males.

† In 1831, the numbers stood thus: in GREAT BRITAIN, 8,163,023 males, 8,376,295 females; making a slight preponderance of the latter on the whole of the existing population.

The same ratio appears in each of the separate kingdoms.

ENGLAND, 6,376,627 males, and 6,714,378 females. WALES, 394,563 males, and 411,619 females. SCOTLAND, 1,114,816 males, 1,250,298 females.—V. i. p. 1042. These numbers, with 277,017 males for the army and navy, make up the general total above stated.—Rickman's Abstract. So, in the Prussian Provinces on the Rhine, in 1828, the population was 1,079,178 males, and 1,003,367 females.—Bull. Univ. 1830, p. 435.

equalization constantly and so universally ; but yet no more than is necessary for this purpose.

This is another instance of a purpose, immense in its largeness and expanse of operation and in its undeviating continuity, unceasingly and most precisely accomplished. No science can trace the laws or means by which such results are effectuated ; we can only perceive that a most nice adjustment of millions of millions of particular incidental circumstances must have been made and sustained in order to produce them.

It is with pain we read that there are some countries, in which human selfishness and crime interfere to counteract the appointed system of Providence in this respect, by wilfully destroying their female babes.* Infanticide prevailed in the Sandwich Islands and in New Zealand.† It still throws a dark shade over the national character of China.‡

* The British East India government has laudably directed its endeavours to suppress this revolting practice. But Lieut. Burnes found it still to prevail among the Rajapoots, near Cutch. The moment the female is ushered into the world, it is smothered in milk. By a treaty between these princes and the Bombay government, it was stipulated that this horrible habit should be abandoned ; but when Lieut. Burnes, thirteen years after this agreement, visited this country, he found in some of the villages the population to consist of 800 males to 140 females ; evidencing that the abolition required by the treaty had not been performed.

† Mr. Ellis found in the SANDWICH Islands that "the number of males was much greater than that of females in all the islands, in consequence of the girls being *more* frequently destroyed in infancy, as less useful than the males for war, fishing, &c. But since the abolition of infanticide (through the influence of the missionaries), the numbers are equal."—Ellis, p. 444.

In NEW ZEALAND also, "before our intercourse with them, a universal custom existed among them of destroying most of their FEMALE children in infancy. Their excuse was, that they were quite as much trouble to rear, and consumed just as much food as a male child ; yet, when grown up, were not fit to go to war as their boys were."—Earle's *Nar. New Zeal.* p. 244.

‡ Mr. Barrow found it to be the custom at Pekin for carts to go round the streets to pick up the bodies of such infants as had been thrown out during the night.—Dogs and swine are let loose before the police carts are sent out.—Barrow's *China*, p. 168.

Mr. Gutzlaff states, from what he saw in 1832 : "It is a *general custom* among them to drown a large proportion of their female children. This crime is *so common* among them, that it is perpetrated without any feeling, and even in a laughing mood. To ask a man of distinction whether he has daughters is a mark of great rudeness."—*Journal*, p. 174. He adds afterward, "at the beach of Amoy, we were shocked at the spectacle of a pretty new-born babe, which shortly before had been

It extended to both sexes in the Society and Sandwich Islands, but is giving way as the missionaries succeed in diffusing the opposing principles of Christianity.* As the custom of exposition disgraced both ancient Greece and Rome, and the former eastern states, we are entitled to say that it is this benevolent religion, the sacred friend, protector, and exalter of the female sex, which alone can rescue human nature from such abominations; for we know in our times, even, that Rousseau could abandon his own offspring; and we learn that Turkish women, though very maternal to those whom they choose to rear, yet wilfully intercept what they are too indolent to nurse or educate.† How soon, without Christianity, would such wickednesses spread even among ourselves, since writings recommending them have ventured to appear!

It has been asked, why should there have been two sexes of the human race? why were they not all men? why make any of that sex whom Mohammed thought unworthy of being in his paradise!‡ whom even a Chinese man of letters, when

killed. Asking the by-standers what this meant, they answered with indifference, It is only a girl. It is a general custom in this district to drown female infants immediately after their birth. Respectable families seldom take the trouble, as they express themselves, to rear their useless girls."—Gutz. *Journal of a Voyage to China*, p. 188.

* Mr. Stewart says of the SANDWICH Islands, when he first visited them, "Two thirds of the infants born perish by the hands of their own parents, before attaining the first or second year of their age."—P. 251.

Mr. Ellis confirms this proportion (p. 25), and adds, "sometimes they strangle their children, but more frequently bury them alive."

It was done in the SOCIETY Islands, but with this difference: "while they were idolaters, they practised infanticide probably more than any other natives in the Pacific; but if the intended victim was allowed to survive only one day, and frequently not more than a few hours, it was generally saved."—Ellis, *Haw.* p. 325. "The king, and some of the chiefs, since they have attended to the precepts of Christianity, have exerted themselves to suppress the practice."—Ellis, *Haw.* p. 330.

† Mr. Slade informs us of the Turkish ladies, that "to be childless is considered as a great misfortune; yet, after two or three, they are addicted to procure miscarriages."—*Trav. in Turkey*, p. 322.

‡ Ali-Bey-Badia, who was fully initiated into all the rules and practices of Islamism, mentions in his account of Fez, that "as the prophet has not assigned any place for women in his paradise, the Mahometans give them no places in the mosques, and have exempted them from the obligation of frequenting the public prayers."—*Travels*, v. i. p. 69. Hence the Mussulman idea, that women have no souls. Contrary to all such customs, the mosques at Fez had the singularity of a covered part for females. The Moors are, therefore, not wholly barbarians.

meaning to befriend, can yet, in that more intellectual nation, think and talk of with the most depreciating contempt ;* and whom some philosophists among ourselves desire, by the dissolution of the matrimonial union, to degrade into mere sensual conveniences.

What objects has the Creator had in view by resolving to establish, and by executing so perseveringly this artificial distinction, which required so much more thought and complication of means, in order to produce and to perpetuate it ? It would be presumption to say that we can explain all the great purposes of his foresight in this part of his plan ; but we may not indecorously allude to some of the results which appear to have issued from it, and to have been as successfully accomplished, as they are invaluable and most felicitating to us.

One effect obtained by it, and too important in its consequences not to have been intended to follow from it, has been, that the young race shall always, in the first part of its life, be nursed and reared by the female class, and not by the male parent ; and that there shall be in this same class those peculiar moral instincts and sensibilities which we so well know and so highly appreciate as the maternal feelings. These are of a distinct nature from that regard which forms the paternal affection, and seem to be additional to it. The mother has all the love of the father for her offspring, but has also more than this—a tenderness of affection, an instinctive attachment, a mental sensibility, which identify herself with them, and make her feel as they feel, and sympathize and harmonize with them in a manner and to a degree which the father does not equally experience. It is difficult to describe the difference, but the attentive observer of human life can hardly fail to perceive it.

The father loves his child, but it is still as a distinct, though dear and highly valued being ; with the mother her children continue to be a part of herself. As they were so before their birth, they are so, as it were, afterward for a

* A Chinese writer exhorts husbands not to desist from teaching their wives, because even " monkeys may be taught to play antics ; dogs may be taught to tread a mill ; rats may be taught to run round a cylinder ; and parrots to recite verses. Since, then, even birds and beasts may be taught to understand human affairs, how much more may young wives, who, after all, are human beings !"—Notice prefixed to Gutzlaff's *Voy. to China*, p. 29.

long season, and until, by diverging into great dissimilarities as they grow up into mature life, they lessen or destroy the unity. The child also has for some time sympathies of the same sort, and runs to the maternal bosom, as the young opossums take shelter in the mother's pouch, or the pleasing chickens under her covering wings.*

For these feelings have been, by a surprising extent of donation, created also in birds and quadrupeds, in the whales and phocæ, and in some other species of the animal kingdom. In these we can perceive similar results from the same important distinction into male and female classes. These genera have the advantage,—it is not too strong to say,—the blessing of the mother, as well as human kind.

In these, and in some insects, as the earwig,† and probably in many more, the mother animal has those sensibilities of regard, care, anxiety, attention, and watching, and protective guardianship; and that desire to feed and foster the young race that is to succeed the parental one, which the male has not been intended to possess, and does not exhibit.‡

* The Persian nurses have the custom, during the labour-pains of the married ladies, to sooth them by singing verses, which lessen their sufferings by an appeal to their maternal feeling. Three of these nursery poems have been thus translated :

I.

O thou sweet and gentle child !
Why thus long delay !
Pure thou art and undefil'd ;
Prithæ, come away.

II.

Cherub ! what hast thou to fear ?
Love and joy await thee here.
Sweet ! no longer stay !
The water is warm to bathe thee ;
Thy raiment is ready to swathe thee ;
Then why this long delay ?

III.

Thy mother's fair bosom is throbbing with pleasure,
Impatient to yield thee its balmy treasure ;
And thy cradle is ready to rock thee to rest,
Come away, then, and let thy fond mother be blest.
Come away ! come away !

From the Persian MS. (p. 48) Kitabi Kulsum Nanet, translated by Mr. Atkinson, and printed as "Customs and Manners of the Women in Persia."

† See vol. Sac Hist. p. 358. (Family Library, No. xxxii.)

‡ Yet there are occasionally instances when the male bird takes the place of the female when she goes on a flight for food or comfort. The

Correspondently with these feelings, the female class of all the animal tribes are, without exception, the bodily nests or homes in which the new series that are to replace their predecessors are always formed in their oval state, and in their living figure in all that are viviparous,—never in the male. This was the original plan, and it has never changed, nor ever failed in its ever-evolving process. It is the mother that replaces all whom death removes. She has been appointed to be the renewer of the dying world; and she is always restoring that human life which, by the primeval sentence, is individually withdrawn from this its temporary abode. If the female sex could cease to exist, or did not perpetually arise in the due proportion, animated nature must terminate, under its present system of being. The male sex could not continue it, but with their life-tenancy all sentient vitality must expire on our globe. From our mothers we all derive our bodily structures as well as our earliest comforts. If they had only lived till they had given birth to their offspring, and then always departed, the discontinuance of human existence would have been as inevitable. What babes would survive without a female nurse? That we are human beings of flesh and blood and that we grow up into a state and age in which our fathers can take care of us, we owe to our mothers. This consideration should rescue the female sex from all ill usage, depreciation, and ingratitude; and shows the importance as well as the justice of their partaking our kindest recollections, our intellectual respect, and every attainable advantage and improvement which our sex can impart. In benefiting them, we confer a favour on the future races of our human nature. We cannot degrade them without degrading our own successors. But who can ever fully repay the obligations they are under to their maternal parent? These are too familiar to us to be adequately appreciated.*

Edinburgh Evening Courant, in July, 1834, mentions a turkey-cock as then in East Lothian, which had hatched a brood of chickens. "Last season, during the period of incubation, he took regularly the place of the hens, when they got off their nests to feed. When the young birds were hatched, he brooded over them with the greatest care, regularly taking them under his wings during rain.

"This season a number of common hens' eggs were given to him, which he has steadily set on and hatched; and he is now strutting about the yard, attended by his progeny."

* The natural force and influence of the maternal feelings, when the

It has been a farther part of the divine plan as to the two sexes, with no exceptions in nature at large but such as make the general law more manifest, that the female class shall be weaker in body and more timid in mind, and with less vigour of spirit, and less power of continued labour, and be less violently active than the fiercer portion. In most brute animals this rule predominates. In the human race, undeniably so. Women are in all climes and periods, and in every condition of society, feebler, gentler, milder, and more timorous than man,—more fond of quiet, more peaceable and placable,—more kind; and so much less habitually vindictive, cruel, and relentless, that when left to their own feelings, and not goaded by excited passions, which shake the reason or change the natural state, these vicious emotions are no part of their general character. There are, certainly, individual exceptions to this exemption; but female resentment is rather irritation than revenge, and is more transitory, soothed more easily, and sooner laid aside.

Their frame and composition of body have been made to suit and favour this distinction. They have not that firmness and tension of muscular flesh, nor that harder or increased density of bone, which promote masculine strength and powerful activity. There is a delicacy in all their structure which enables the eye of experienced science to discriminate their general skeleton from that of the male.*

These distinctions between the sexes, in their intellectual

artificial suppression of them has been removed, appears strongly in the SOCIETY ISLANDS, where infanticide was so common, as soon as the missionaries had persuaded them to relinquish the shocking crime.

"When the natives of these islands embraced the Christian religion, they immediately refrained from this practice. The infants then spared, as they grew up, kindled and cherished emotions in their parents' bosoms, which they had not before experienced. *They became, in general, exceedingly fond of their children.* I have seen a mother or a father who was known to have murdered several children, fondling and nursing a little babe with a degree of tenderness that, without witnessing, I could not have believed would be felt by individuals so hardened and insensible as they had formerly been. As parental affection increased, they began to view with abhorrence a crime, their former familiarity with which was now surprising to themselves."—Ellis, *Hawaii*, p. 329.

* Besides "the difference of stature and of the size, strength, and form of particular bones, the different proportions of the shoulders and pelvis in the two sexes are remarkable. In the male the shoulders are broader, and the pelvis more narrow. In the female skeleton, the whole has a more feminine appearance; the bones are smoother and more delicate, with much less roughness from the impressions of the muscles and surrounding parts."—Dr. Brisbane's *Anat. of Painting*, p. 14.

as well as in their bodily nature, indicate to us that it has been a part of the divine plan, that human nature should essentially and always be in these two different characters; and they seem to present and exemplify in our race the fact of an analogous dissimilarity which prevails in the brute creation; for there animated life is distinguishable into two contrasts, in most of its orders and genera.

In all countries, in their natural state, and until altered by artificial means, we find gentle animals and fierce ones—the mild and the violent, the peaceful and the assailing, the destructive and the harmless. The one has some parallel in the savage state of human life, which displays the masculine principle in its fuller action, unmodified by its feebler companion. The other resembles more man's civilized and meliorated state, when milder influences have established their power, and led him to subdue and avoid his ferocious energies. It presents a close analogy to the feminine character.

It is curious that a distinction of the same sort exists in the ever-acting forces of material nature. The ethereal agencies which everywhere actuate it, appear to us as two antagonist powers of these contrasted kinds—the one attracting, the other repelling; this uniting, and that separating. The one draws, and blends, and binds particles and things together; the other disunites, averts, and disperses them; the one impulsive—the other quiescent, and often neutralizing the action of the more violent.

In human qualities there are clearly two classes, with some distinctions like these; and of these, one kind is more natural or more apparent in the males, and the other in the females of our species. These also we may call the attractive and the repellent, the uniting and the separating; and it is these which cause us to like and to dislike. We feel them in what we love, and in what we are disposed to hate; in what we seek, and in what we shun; in what gives us pleasure, and in what produces pain. We desire and are attracted by the one; we repel and are repelled as the other appears. The more our reason improves, the more thereby we are affected by the difference. The mild, the gentle, the kind, the peaceful, the courteous, the meek, the forgiving, the reconcileable, the compassionate, and the benevolent, always please, and sooth, and attract us. The fierce,

the violent, the impetuous, the sturdy, the revengeful, the proud, the arrogant, the malignant, the ruthless, the tyrannical, the implacable, and the oppressor, as invariably disgust and alarm us. We reco~~de~~ from these by an instinctive aversion or mistrust; while we should fly to the other for repose, for happiness, and for safety, and with unhesitating confidence and irresistible regard.*

It has visibly been a principle in the creation of mankind that there should be these two contrasted species of the human nature, and that the more violent qualities should be attached to the male class, and the milder to the female. Savage climes most exemplify the distinction. There the manly population commonly resembles the fierce and predatory of the brute orders; while their women are found to be of a far more quiet, harmless, inoffensive, and friendly temper. Man is in these wild regions an irritable and lordly tyrant. The woman is the toiling slave, the beast of burden, the submitting sufferer. She is kept aloof as an inferior being, and is frequently massacred without pity or remorse, whenever caprice or anger excites her male master or husband to perpetrate the cruelty.†

* I am rather inclined to believe, that the different characters of the two sexes do not arise from their bodily frames so much as from some essential peculiarities in the spirit itself of each. For this reason I concur in Mrs. Jameson's forcible remarks. In speaking of female artists she says—

"There is a walk of art in which women may attain perfection, and excel the other sex; as there is another department from which they are excluded. You must change the physical organization of the race of women, before we can produce a Rubens or a Michael Angelo.

"I wish to combat that oft-repeated but most false compliment, that genius is of no sex. There may be equality of power; but, in its quality and application, there will and must be difference and distinction."—Mrs. Jameson's Sketches, v. ii. p. 120.

† We are not surprised when we read that in the Feejee Islands, "when a chief dies, his wives are strangled to accompany him to the other world;" nor that, in New South Wales, though the wives of the black natives carry for them their weapons and provisions, besides their little children, and make their opossum cloaks, and do all the household work for them; yet, whenever the husband is in an ill-humour, he takes his club and wounds her head or some part of her body: because these are savage nations, and the actions correspond with their state. But that the Chinese, once held up to us as superior in civilization, should yet degrade their women, really proves that they are but little better than their wilder neighbours.

Mr. Gutzlaff says of them, "that neither the concubines nor the legitimate wives are allowed to sit at the same table, nor even to appear in the presence of their lord and master, either in the company of friends or strangers. Among the lower orders, the females of the most savage na-

But though it is a part of the plan of Providence that the two sexes should have these separate distinctions of character, yet it is as obvious, that he did not mean that either should alone be the standard of human nature. Each singly has its imperfections, which would keep it much below the attainable and intended perfection of a human being. The farther plan seems to have been, that each should imbibe the other's excellences, and impart their own. This takes place in civilized life, and in that mutual society and state of feeling which this brings on.

There the female gains her just ascendancy in her family home, and in the form of wife, daughter, or sister, modifies the sterner temper and fierce activity of her male associates. These become then more and more sensible of the tender sensibilities, and of those benevolent sympathies, of which the human spirit is naturally susceptible; while the woman acquires steadiness, firmness of mind and principle, and a beneficial elevation of thought, and a larger power of action and determination.

As this mutual agency advances, the civilization of society becomes more perfect; each is happier; and the human character in both is seen to rise in value and in beauty, purifying itself from its selfish deformities, and cultivating, as with a renewed nature, all that is amiable, ennobling, and beneficent. The female mind peculiarly tends to produce and to promote this welcomed melioration, for we daily see that it desires and seeks to obtain what it wishes, by persuasion rather than force, by acquiescing patience instead of resisting violence, as a gift and kindness, and not by plunder or compulsory demand. It has a natural tendency to feel quickly; to affection, pity and the sweet charities of

tions are not doomed to more degrading and slavish labour than those of the Chinese are."

One of the songs of the Sandwich Islanders shows the labour to which the females are doomed there.

"Maui is famous at Horica,
A woman tilling well the ground.
Give the fisherman
To the woman who tills the ground.
Happy will be the land of Yeuhoo;
The husband a fisherman;
The wife a tiller of the ground,
Cultivating food for the aged and the young."
Ellis, Hawaii, p. 267.

life. It has a buoyant gayety of spirit, which dispels ill-humour both from itself and those about it. It seeks for a protector, instead of desiring to subdue, and is happy to shield and save all that are distressed, and to intercede when severity threatens or wrath endangers. It has a gratification in having a friendly supporter, whom it can lean upon, resort to, and confide in. It has even a pleasure in dependance, if the government be mild and not unkind. It admires the courageous qualities and noble energies of its male associate; but seeks to regulate them, unassumingly and imperceptibly, by its gentler temper and compassionate feelings. To charm the frown into the smile; to win the master to be the friend; to warm his colder heart into the family sympathies; to attract his notice; to excite his love; to please those she is with; to be duly appreciated and kindly treated in her domestic circle, are the natural wishes and efforts of the feminine moiety of our social world; and as they prevail, the female nature rewards the attachment which it thus excites by a fidelity, a disinterestedness, and a tenderness, which it is its own generous peculiarity so earnestly and so lastingly to maintain and to bestow.

The full richness of the female nature has not yet been brought out. Interesting, amiable, admirable, and beautiful as it has displayed itself to be, yet it is capable of becoming even far more so than it is. At present, its engaging features are rather divided among many, than exhibited in one.

There is as yet no perfect *Venus de Medici*, in mind and moral qualities, any more than in actual form, in all the totality of loveliness. The sculptor and the painter can represent a combination of feature, figure, expression, and deportment, more perfect as to bodily appearance, than can be so completely met with in any single individual; and a possible union of the beauties of the heart, the intellect, the taste, and the virtues, may be imagined in a still greater degree than those which we have personally witnessed. I believe that this improvement is not only attainable, but is in an actual process of attainment.

In those countries where civilization is most refined and complete, the female character has been steadily advancing in a manifest progression; always amiable and beneficial, it is more so now than it ever has been; and it appears to be advancing both in the useful and in the interesting. It can-

not, however, improve beyond the ratio of a correspondent melioration in our own. The male and female heart and mind must equally improve for either to do so. They are too much interested to have each other's good opinion and favour, for either to be or do what the other disapproves of. Hence, while the man is savage, the woman is uncultivated; when he is stationary, so is she; when he is profligate, she sinks to debasement. But let him only elevate himself, and sanction her elevation, and she will ever be emulous to be honoured by him, and to be a blessing to him. Her intellectual beauties will attract and guide him to new excellences, and these will be patterns to her, and raise her imitating docilities and desire of his praise, to make her a fairy of kindness and comfort to him, and a brilliant ornament of our common nature. Such the female world ever tends to be, and it is most usually our own fault if we ever find them otherwise. It is at least in our power to encourage, and most dearly connected with our welfare to cause them to be so.

The Grecian women were too much secluded and depressed for them to be much cultivated. A few became so, but not to the credit of their names, though some at times displayed honourable feelings.* Homer displayed an Andromache and a Penelope with connubial and matronlike virtues that must have benefited his fair countrywomen; but the after Greek poets took a different direction. In subsequent times, and by grave writers, the Grecian ladies are sometimes sarcastically spoken of;† but the Grecian husband, making vainglory and publicity his passions, did not seek or desire to raise his household companion much above her

* "Theano, in putting on her mantle, uncovered, by accident, her elbow. A person present exclaimed, 'What a beautiful arm!'—'Yes,' said she, 'but not a public one;' and immediately covered it."—Plut. *Conj. Prec.* v. i. p. 247.

† Plutarch says, unfriendly to his fair countrywomen, "Egyptian wives, following the custom of their ancestors, wear no shoes, that they may be always reminded that their time should be passed at home. But our good dames will only stay within doors if you take away their gilt slippers, their bracelets, their necklaces, their purple robes, and their jewels."—*Ib.* p. 247. We may suppose from this, that it was to prevent his daughters from thus displaying themselves in public, that Lysander, when the King of Sicily sent some rich garments as a present to them, refused to receive the splendid gift, declaring that it would be a disgrace, not an ornament to his daughters.—*Ib.* p. 243.

slaves, and his inferior gratification ; he had no toleration for her vanity, though he so freely indulged his own. Indeed, how could he, to whom the character of mendacity became proverbial, value moral qualities in his wife, which would make her superior to himself ?* The conversation recorded of Socrates with Theodota, in which he professes to teach her how to make herself valued, mentions nothing that is either moral or intellectual,—a striking indication of what both Athenian men and Athenian women were, and that even their philosophers had no desire to improve them.† The Roman mind, with all its sternness, and even fierceness, had more becoming feelings on this subject. The Romans evinced on many occasions a higher appreciation, and a more confidential, respectful, and affectionate treatment of their wives and daughters, and derived all the benefit of this wiser conduct, by that superiority of moral and intellectual energies and character, which virtuous and cultivated females have so often elsewhere formed, and will always promote in those they teach and nurture.‡ The Persian ladies of rank

* Lucian fully agrees with Juvenal and others, on the "*Grecia mendax*." But one of the circumstances that have most struck me, as showing that lying was the inveterate habit of the Grecian, is, that Plutarch says, "I praise these customs of vowing in our prayers, as neither unbecoming nor unphilosophical, to live a year without wine or voluptuousness ; to worship God during the abstinence ; to *refrain for an appointed time from all lying* ; so watching ourselves as to speak truth in our childish things, as well as in all serious ones." He adds, that he tried this for a month or two, and recommends, that by this gradual practice, they should gain the power of doing longer what they vowed to do.—*De Cohib. Irac.* v. ii. p. 825. That to speak truth should need a solemn vow, and that this should be difficult to keep, is too expressive to require any comment.

† Xenoph. *Æro.* lib. iii. c. 11. But what must some Grecian ladies and their husbands have been, to have made Phocylides think it necessary in his time to insert among his moral precepts, "Let not the mother destroy her embryo babe ; nor let that, when born, be torn by dogs, nor be a prey to vultures," lib. v. 172, 3. This assimilates Greece to China in this depravity.

‡, I need not refer you to the Lucretias, Cornелиas, and Portias, and other distinguished ladies of ancient Rome ; because with these, you and all reading persons are well acquainted : Livy gives many instances of the honours paid to them. I will only notice here a few customs of the Romans, which show their respectful consideration of their wives. They would not suffer their wives to grind the corn nor dress the meat in the kitchen for their families, as other nations compelled them to do. The wife of the priest of Jupiter was consecrated to perform the divine rites jointly with her husband. There were many which he was not allowed to do alone. When the Roman husband returned from a journey, or only from

seem also to have had high principles of conduct, which their imperious lords condescended to respect.*

That the maternal offices and feelings were meant to be the most important and completing, as they always will be the most politically useful qualities of the female character, our own experience and daily observation fully attest; but the female nature is admirable, independent of these; and it has been part of the divine system, that it should have its beauties and benefits distinct from those which result from its social position as a mother. It was foreseen by its Creator, that a large proportion of both sexes, and therefore of women, would in every civilized state remain without the connubial association. Few or none are willingly so on either side; but the artificial and very complicated condition into which property, civilization, and even enlarging prosperity lead society, have in all ages and nations caused a considerable proportion of every existing population to live unallied, in the single state. This result is evidence, that the fulfilment of the purposes of our existence is as attainable in the one form as in the other, and we may likewise add its hap-

his farm into the city, he always, if his wife was living, and at home, sent a messenger before him to give her notice of his coming.—*Plut. Quest. Rom.* There was something formal in this last custom; but nothing could more strongly remark both respect and confidence. Even Caesar's harshness showed the high standard to which they carried the character of their women. When he was putting away his wife on a rumour of infidelity, which he was assured was unfounded, his answer was, that Caesar's wife must not only be guiltless, but her conduct must be such that she should not even be suspected.

* It is mentioned by Plutarch, of the Ancient Persians, that "the queens sat usually with their kings at their suppers and banquets, but when the royal majesty resolved upon a drunken debauch, the queen was sent away, and then the singers and dancing girls were brought in."—*Conjug. Prec.* p. 242.

This is an important passage; for it illustrates that incident in the book of Esther which occasioned her elevation.

Ahasuerus made a feast of seven days to all his nobles and princes. "On the seventh day, when the heart of the king was merry with wine, he commanded the seven chamberlains to bring Vashti the queen before the king, with the crown-royal: but the queen refused to come at the king's commandment, therefore was the king very wroth, and his anger burned in him."—*Esther* i. 10, 11. He immediately held a council, and divorced her, and ordered another queen to be provided for him.—*V.* 19.

The information given by Plutarch shows that this intoxicated king could not have put a greater insult upon his queen in her estimation, and according to the Persian custom, than to insist upon her presence at this drunken festivity.

piness, although we might prefer to receive the boon of comfort rather in the one shape than in the other. But all can no more command marriage than they can command wealth, rank, or fame, or any specific object depending on others. The temporal blessings of life are generally to be earned and acquired by time, and with uncertainty and inequality ; so must those subsisting means, the deficiency of which, according to the individual idea of comfort, is always the chief cause of any remaining unmarried in the young and active period of life.

But this single state is no diminution of the beauties and the utilities of the female character ; on the contrary, our present life would lose many of the comforts, and much likewise of what is absolutely essential to the wellbeing of every part of society, and even of the private home, without the unmarried female. To how many a father—a mother—a brother, and not less, a sister, is she both a necessity and a blessing ! How many orphans have to look up with gratitude to her care and kindness ! How many nephews and nieces owe their young felicities and improvements to her ! Were every woman married, the parental home would often in declining life be a solitary abode, when affectionate attentions are most precious, and, but from such a source, not attainable. It is the single class of women which supplies most of our teachers and governesses ; and from the lower ranks, nearly all the domestic assistants of our household come. What vast changes, not promotive of the general happiness, would ensue in every station of life, if every female married as soon as she was fully grown ! Certainly human life would in that case have a different aspect, and must be regulated on a new principle, and would lead to consequences which cannot now be calculated.

The single woman is therefore as important an element of social and private happiness as the married one. The utilities of each are different, but both are necessary ; and it is vulgar nonsense, unworthy of manly reason, and discreditable to every just feeling, for any one to depreciate the unmarried condition.

If from what is beneficial we turn our glance to what is interesting, the single lady is in this respect not surpassed by the wedded matron. For no small portion of her life, I think for the whole of it, with judicious conduct, she is in-

deed the most attractive personage. The wife resigns, or ought to resign, always her claims to general attention ; and to concentrate and confine her regards, and wishes, and objects, to her chosen companion, and domestic claims and scenes. She has quitted the public stage ; she seeks no more the general gaze ; she has become part of a distinct and separated proprietary. But the unmarried lady remains still the candidate for every honourable notice, and injures no one by receiving it. Those of the male sex who are in the same condition, are at as full liberty to pay her their proper attentions as she is to receive them. Being in this position as to society at large, she is always interesting wherever she goes ; and, if she preserve her good temper, her steady conduct, and her modest reputation undiminished, and cultivate her amiable, her intellectual, and her truly feminine qualities, she cannot go anywhere, in any station of life, without being an object of interest and pleasurable feeling, to all those of her own circle with whom she may choose to be acquainted.

It is only by displaying undue solicitude for changing her condition, or disappointment at the change not occurring, or a peevishness which is imputed to such feelings, or unbecoming attempts to obtain or extort notice, that she lessens her natural attractiveness.

It is for us all, never to regret or covet what we do not or cannot obtain ; and never to repine that others have what we do not possess. It is for us all to use and value, and cultivate the happinesses which we are possessing, and not to sigh or crave for those which do not come to us.

It is for us all, to be at all times grateful to our kindest Provider, for the daily comforts with which he is supplying us ; and to resign every thing else to his will and regulation, and patiently and magnanimously to await his direction of our state and fortunes. Then every one of us would be enjoying a greater felicity from our ordinary life, than we can experience on any other plan.

He arranges and administers life on this principle.—He requires us to believe in his invisible government and guidance of it ; to be always content with his dispositions and distribution of it ; and to be assured, that if we thus leave it to him, he will, from time to time, place us in that condition, and in those circumstances which will be really best and happiest for us. Let the single of both sexes think, feel, and

act firmly and perseveringly on these principles, and they will find that life, in every one of its states and positions, is like a fine garden, full of rich, though varied, flowers and fruits, in all its compartments.*

LETTER XI.

System of Nature as to the successive states of Human Life—The Utilities of these several Stages, and especially of a young period of Life—Happiness attainable at every Season.

IN our seasons we have the grateful succession of the spring, the summer, and the autumn. In our vegetation, the new leaf, the beautiful flower, and the nutritious fruit. These correspond with contemporaneous atmospherical changes of our system, and are followed by that peculiar destitution and apparent death of nature, which frosty and chilling winter brings on. The insect and reptile world exhibit congenial analogies. The vernal temperature recalls or hatches their tribes into life and feeling, in a creeping state. They have their summer day of playful gayety, varying in its duration, and enjoy existence in a winged form; their autumn is their time of depositing their oval brood; and from that they depart into death or insensibility. These four states of all that have vital being, growth, maturity, decline, and death, and these annual successions of aerial agencies which are so much associated with the life, pro-

* I cannot doubt from my own experience, that happiness accompanies both the single and the married states; I have been now in the latter forty years, and no one can be happier than I have been in it; but I had left my parent roof, and been living in chambers in the Temple, and therefore much alone, for eight years before I married. This was a complete trial of the single state, and in this I have also to say that I was perfectly happy, though in a different way. I did not marry because I was deficient in happiness, but because the lady deeply interested me; and becoming so attached, my comfort then was associated with her, and having by that time before me the fair means and probability of an adequate maintenance by regular diligence, on a moderate and careful scale, I changed one mode of happiness for another; to that increase of it which always arises from reciprocal regard; if what is already happy can be more happy, by being differently happy.

duce, and suspension of vegetative nature, have been made the characteristics of our terrestrial system. In the human race an analogous series of changes and states takes place, with such striking moral and intellectual results, as to excite our admiration at the kindness of our Creator, for having formed his human nature on a plan of such sagacious benevolence. By this he has appointed, that every human being should have a season of childhood, another of youth, a third of full maturity, with its parental produce, and a following period of decline and death, to pass into another mode of existence elsewhere.

These laws are attached to all who are permitted to pass through the regular course of human life; though its Giver has reserved to himself the resistless right of calling each of us away, at whatever part of it he shall think proper, without completing the full progression of these successive conditions.

These changes in us have the analogy with the rest of the organized and ethereal kingdoms of nature above remarked. But they are obviously a very artificial system of living being, and have been, as to our race, purposely selected and appointed to it; for neither of them was unavoidable. There was no necessity for our being so many years a babe, and so many more in each of the succeeding conditions.

We might have sprung up at once into full-formed beings, as Adam was at his creation; and as the Theban fable imagines that body of men to have done, who emerged instantaneously from the dragon's teeth, which Cadmus was fancied to have sown.*

But the great object with us has been, to make moral and intelligent beings of that peculiar kind which we have thus far attained to be; and we may therefore assume that the successive ages and states through which we grow into maturity, and decline into dissolution and departure, have been chosen and attached to human nature, from such fore-

* Ovid describes this fable with his usual ease and picturesqueness. "He opened the furrow with the plough, he urged and scattered the teeth in the ground; soon, passing belief, the clods began to move, and the point of a spear was seen coming above the earth; presently, heads covered with a nodding painted crest emerged; shoulders followed; breasts and arms laden with spears arose, and a crop of men with shields grew fully up."—Ov. Met. lib. 3, v. 104-110.

seen and operating instrumentality in facilitating this great result.

That each state, till our decline, is a series of acquisition and progression, none can dispute. In all of us, our powers of body and mind, our ideas and knowledge, our experience and judgment, our skilful use of what capacities we have, our bodily activities and our manual dexterities, incontestably increase before decline, or before final decay comes on. Even as this advances, the intellectual process is in most, if not in all, continued with beneficial enlargement of our anterior attainments.

In each of the subsequent periods we can do what we were not competent to perform in an earlier condition. We are more efficient, both as moral and as intelligent beings, in our maturity, than at either of our previous ages.

The appointed plan has therefore accomplished its assigned results ; and all obtain the benefits from it which were meant to accompany it, though with that diversity which appears in every human individual.

It was an admirable idea to begin our earthly existence as a filial babe ; for in this state our moral feelings evolve in the most pleasing manner. The first emotions are those of love. If the sucking infant is conscious of any sensibilities, and its sweet smile soon announces that it is so, they must be those of affectionate gratification. How exquisitely happy does it show itself to be on its mother's neck ! Its moving and moulding fingers ; its murmur of placid delight ; the eye of its pleased soul, looking thankfulness, or at least expressive of it, indicate not only its own enjoyment as it feeds, but also that the feeling of love is in action within it, though it has not then learned to distinguish it from its happiness. But as its emotions become more marked, it is sufficiently obvious that gratitude and affection, and soon obedient duty and acquiescing will, are the moral sensibilities first awakened, or rather produced within it.*

At this period also commence our modesty, our diffidence ;

* The Hebrew prophets display to us the Deity himself alluding, as to his final intentions towards the Jewish nation, to the maternal and parental feelings which he has so beautifully caused.

Can a woman forget her sucking child,
That she should not have compassion
On the son of her womb ?

our sense of the need of social kindness ; our thankfulness on receiving it ; our pleasure from it ; and as the result of these, that germination of our benevolent sympathies, for which our Creator has formed and prepared us ; but which, like the seed of the vegetable, require to be excited and fostered into vital being. We desire to be assisted by others, and we like to help them when we can in return. The little child is as officious to oblige, as he is gratified by being obliged. He is often importunate to return the favours he receives, by little efforts in his own way to do the giver what he thinks a service, or means to be a kindness. But it cannot be necessary to pursue the subject farther. It is sufficient to have thus intimated the fact, that by the succession of infancy, youth, and manhood, a gradual train of moral feelings is brought into existence and into operation, in that series which most secures the best moral formation which we can receive. Those of childhood are succeeded by the additional ones which the position and circumstances of our youth bring out. A new class arises as we advance into manhood, yet still maintaining a pleasing connexion with

Yea—they may forget—
Yet will I not forget thee.

Isa. xlix. 15

Ye shall be borne upon her sides,
And be dandled upon her knees :
As one whom his mother comforteth,
So will I comfort you :
And ye shall be comforted in Jerusalem.

Isa. lxi. 12, 13.

Ephraim ! my dear son :
A pleasant child !
Since I spake against him,
I do earnestly remember him still.
My bowels are troubled for him.
I will surely have mercy upon him,
Saith the Lord.

Jerem. xxxi. 20.

When Israel was a child,
Then I loved him,
And called my son out of Egypt.
I taught Ephraim also to go,
Taking them by their arms—
I drew them with bands of love.
How shall I give thee up, O Ephraim !
How shall I make thee as Admah !
Mine heart is turned within me.

Hos. xi. 1.

the former.* The uncivilized nations of the world warmly display the beautiful results and lasting continuity of the first affections of the infant heart;† and if the mature man looks duly forward to his ensuing state of being, and directs his heart and conduct to the Provider and Sovereign of that, as common sense, independent of all positive command, would lead him to do, then even his declining life will be a scene, in which other moral feelings will accrue, and increase as he decays,—feelings the noblest and sublimest of which he can be conscious; for they will be those which will unite him in affectionate adoration and ardent hope, with that approving and benevolent Benefactor, who desires to say to him as to all, “Well done, thou good and faithful servant! enter thou into the joy of thy Lord.”‡

* The Turks, with all their self-pride and strange customs, show this effect. Mr. Slade thus expresses their conservation in their manhood, of their filial feelings as children, and their grateful memory of the parental kindness: “Turkish women are entitled to the credit of being the best of mothers (to those they rear); wet nurses are unknown among them.” Hence “they never lose their influence with their sons; the chief care of a Turk on arriving at wealth and power, is to place his mother comfortably.”—Slade’s Trav. p. 322.

When his son complained to Socrates of his mother Xantippe’s unfortunate temper, and the undeserved upbraidings he had received from her, the sage recalled to his recollection that she had suffered often, with the kindest patience, from his infant and childish crying, petulances, and illness: “you know that your mother means no evil to you in any thing that she says; she desires to do you good; do you think she has any bad feelings to you?”—“I do not imagine that.”—“Will you then say that she who is so kind to you, so careful of you as to do all that she can for you when you are unwell, and who is ever mindful that you shall want nothing, and prays to the gods for you, will you call her a cross and troublesome mother? If you cannot bear with such a mother, you cannot endure what is good and kind.”—Xenoph. *Æno.* l. 2. c. 2.

† Mr. Stewart gives us this picture of the filial feelings and attentions of a principal chief of the Island of Hawaii: “When the king’s mother left Honorum, she appeared on the beach, supported by Riho Riho (her son), in a tender and respectful manner. He would let no one assist her into the longboat but himself, and seemed to think of nothing but her ease and safety, till she was seated on her couch; he continued to manifest the utmost affection for her till we got under way.” He adds on another occasion (Stewart, 125), “He came to see her. He landed and entered the circle opposite to his mother, where his youngest queen’s parent was seated. Dropping on *one knee*, he saluted her, on which she burst into tears, and springing from her mat, led him to *his mother*. He *kneelt before her*, gazed silently in her face for a moment, then *pressed her* to his bosom, and placing a hand on each cheek, *kissed her* twice in the most tender manner; as she gazed upon him, her *heart* seemed to float in her eyes.”—Stewart’s Journal, fo. 194.

‡ St. Matt. xxv. 21.

In no other succession could the same improving effects take place, as arise from this gradation of the moral sensibilities. It is manifest, that if we began existence as the man, we should lose all the sweet feelings and sentiments which arise during our childhood and youth, and which could not so arise, but from their very weakness, inferiority, dependance, and perpetual need of help and support; and from the aid and kindness which they, from this condition, experience. A marble man might be cut in a moment from the quarry, or a wooden image from the tree, as a cat might be transformed into a full-grown woman, or a bronze statue into a living and walking individual. But neither of these could have, even by miracle, those feelings and sentiments, which nothing but babyhood, growing gently and gradually, under the actual circumstances of its parental home and of human society, into its maturity, could produce.*

* The endearing family feelings which arise from this charming plan of our Creator, as to our mode of birth and nutrition, and from the connubial system, appear very strikingly to us in those uncivilized tribes who, being far removed from more cultivated people, display the creating ordainment in the most genuine shape. Captain Beechey supplies us with an interesting picture of this sort. In the Pacific Ocean, he landed on Bism Martin's Island, where he found a small population which had left Otaheite, 600 miles off, many years before, and had been wrecked there.

THE CONNUBIAL FEELINGS.

"I offered a passage to the man who first ascended the side, as he appeared the most intelligent of the party. He was at first quite delighted, but suddenly became grave, and inquired if his wife and children might accompany him, as he could not assent to a separation. Our compliance appeared to render him completely happy; but still, fearful of disappointment, before quitting the ship, he sent to ask if I were in earnest."—P. 222. They sailed.

THE FRATERNAL FEELINGS.

"When they came to Bow Island, Tuwarri found there his own brother and several friends, whom he had left at the Chain Islands three years before, and had never expected to see again.

"The two brothers met in a manner which did credit to their feelings; and sat down together on the beach, with their hands firmly locked, conversing with each other. They continued, *with their hands grasped*, until it was time for the boat to return to the ship."—Beechey's *Voy.* I. 229.

Mr. Ellis has described another picture of family feelings in a native of Hawaii Island, who had been absent some years from his relations, and suddenly returned to them.

"A general effusion of affection and joy presented itself. His father, followed by his brothers, came out to meet him, fell on his neck, and

What is thus so efficacious in our moral formation, is not less availing in our intellectual composition.

Our mind has to be trained and furnished with knowledge, and right opinions, and true judgment, as well as to be led to moral principles and sensitivities.

But what intellectual improvement can be acquired without submitting, and deferent, and admitting docility? and what human being would have that, who began his existence as the vigorous, active, and powerful man?

As well might we expect the full-grown lion of the desert to become a chamber lapdog. He would not, and he could not be so. We cannot know unless we learn; and if we did not learn so much, and acquire such habits of submitting to tuition, and of willingly and patiently receiving it, as we form, insensibly to ourselves, in the feebler portion of our early

wept aloud for some minutes. After this, they took him by the hand and led him into the house. He seated himself on a mat on the floor, while his brothers and sisters gathered round him. Some unloosed his sandals, and rubbed his limbs and feet; others clasped his hand, frequently saluting it, by touching it with their nose; others brought him a calabash of water, or a lighted tobacco pipe. One of his sisters, in particular, seemed much affected; she clasped his hand, and sat for some time weeping by his side."—Ellis's Tour to Hawaii, p. 269.

In a very different part of the world, Khorasan, part of the ancient Parthia, Lieutenant Burnes has delineated a similar scene among the wild Toorkmans of the Goktan tribe, on the return of a chief to his home, who had been summoned by the Prince of Persia to his war against the Koords.

"For miles before reaching the camp, the Toorkmans crowded upon us to bid him welcome. All of them were on horseback, men, women, and children; and several of them cried as they kissed his hand.

"At length, in a shady and picturesque part of the valley, a party which appeared more respectable than the others, had dismounted and drawn up. This was the family of the chief. He leaped upon the ground with the enthusiasm of a youth, rushed forward, and kissed in succession four boys who were his sons. The scene was pathetic. Three of the boys were under ten years of age, yet they mounted their horses with spirit, and joined the cavalcade. A party of their countrymen had returned in safety from battle. The clan had gathered from every quarter: they gave to us, who were indifferent spectators, the cordial salutation of friends. The women said, 'You are welcome,' and crossed their hands upon their breasts as we passed them, in token of sincerity. I never witnessed a scene of more universal joy. A horseman, more delighted than the rest, appeared with his horse sinking under a load of bread, which he distributed in cakes to every one he met, with this remark, 'Take this; it is good in the sight of God. Take it; you are a guest and a stranger.' Yet I speak of the lawless Toorkmans, who plunder and desolate the land."—Lieutenant Burnes' Trav. into Bokhara, v. ii. p. 110.

days, who could in manhood bring their mind into that deferring mood continually sustained, without which due instruction would be generally impossible !

It is irksome to our manly pride, to our then consciousness of power, to our ambition and self-opinion, to our love of independence, to our aversion to be thought inferior, and even to our excited activities, to sit down then at a teacher's elbow, and learn our lesson like an humble and powerless schoolboy.

Hence, that we may acquire all that is most necessary in the society in which we live, while the body and mind are in that state of gentleness, obedience, acquiescence, and docility, which is essential to our being taught, and to our profiting from the tuition, the manly abilities, strength, and sturdiness, are kept at a distance from us in the commencement of our human life. The child and youth are not naturally adverse to instruction, if it be properly given. They feel no mortification at being lessoned and improved. Nature not only makes them weak, helpless, and inferior, but also causes them to perceive that they are so, and to welcome whatever will raise them to be otherwise.

Thus childhood and youth are essential to our mental improvement.

There would be no right judgment in us without our passing through these periods ; for it is most important to the formation of sound judgment, that we first adopt the right opinions of others, before we form our own. We may see every day, that whoever attempts to reason on what he is ignorant of, or to pronounce opinions upon it while he is insufficiently informed, will utter little but presumptuous errors.

He must learn to know what is truly known upon it, before he exercises his own judgment concerning it : and the knowledge he has to acquire is the opinions of those who have attained what he is deficient in. Some of these may be wrong ; but he must learn from them how to correct what is so.

It is also at this period of our life that we have most sympathies with the charms of nature, and begin that affection for them, which becomes one of the greatest pleasures of our memory, and is ever drawing us to them with a kind of magical attraction. We form secret attachments for the

simplest beauties, which caught and pleased our eyesight in its juvenile sensibility. Burns has mentioned such feelings in himself, which must have arisen from those of his boyhood; a period of life which two of his lines mark to have been delightful to him:

"O life! how lovely is thy morning!
Young fancy's rays thy hills adorning."*

The effect of nature on the young sympathies is strongly expressed by the ornithologist of America, in the description of his own early sensations.† He describes their influence on his future life, by their having urged him to the pursuit of that branch of natural science which his works have so pleasingly illustrated.‡

* In his after years, Burns thus indicates the effect of his earlier sensibilities:

"We cannot account for these seeming caprices in our souls, that one should be particularly pleased with this thing, or struck with that, which, on minds of a different cast, makes no extraordinary impression.

"I have some favourite flowers in spring; among which are the mountain daisy, the harebell, the foxglove, the wild brier rose, the budding birch, and the hoary hawthorn, that I view and hang over with particular delight.

"I never hear one loud solitary whistle of the curlew in a summer noon, or the wild mixing cadence of a troop of gray plovers in an autumnal morning, without feeling the elevation of soul, like the enthusiasm of devotion or poetry.

"Do these workings argue something within us above the trodden clod? I own myself partial to such proofs of those awful and important realities; a God that made all things, man's immaterial and immortal nature, and a world of weal and woe beyond death and the grave."

† Audubon, in his Introduction to his fine work on Birds, says, "The scenes of nature soon became my playmates; and before my ideas were sufficiently formed to enable me to estimate the difference between the azure tints of the sky and the emerald hue of the bright foliage, I felt that an intimacy with them must accompany me through life. They laid such hold upon me, that when removed from the woods and brooks, I experienced none of those pleasures most congenial to my mind. None but aerial companions suited my fancy. No roof seemed to me so secure as the dense foliage under which the feathered tribes resorted, or the caves and fissures of the massy rock to which the cormorant and the curlew retired. A vivid pleasure came, while I gazed with ecstasy on the pearly eggs that lay imbedded in down, or among dried leaves and twigs."

‡ "I grew up, and my wishes grew with my form. I was fervently desirous of becoming acquainted with nature. For many years, however, I was sadly disappointed. The moment a bird was dead, however beautiful it had been in life, the pleasure from the possession of it became blunted. I wished to possess all the productions of nature, but I wished life with them. I made known to my father my dissatisfaction

But no feelings of this sort would be a part of our intellectual self, if we had not both the body and state of mind, in a happy vacancy of all the business, anxieties, and embarrassments, and connexions of life, which are attached to its middle period. The world, not nature, then, has dominion over us; we become so engrossed in its affairs, and pursuits, and passions, that the sweeter, gentler, purer, and more ethereal emotions, lose the power of then affecting us; for Bonstetten's remark is true, that there must be a congenial state of mind between us and nature, for our taste or spirit to be interested even by its loveliness.*

It is to the young mind that nature is so fascinating, as soon as any person or circumstance has once directed the attention to it. A mature man, who had never been the child and youth, would not have felt from nature those impressions which our Wordsworth has so pleasingly delineated.† It is because we have passed through these stages

and anxiety. He produced a book of illustrations. A new life then ran in my veins. I turned over the leaves with avidity, and though I saw not what I longed for, it gave me a desire to *copy nature*.

"To nature I went, and tried to imitate her."—Aud. Introd. 7.

* Bonstetten observes, "The beauties of nature are not felt, except they are in *harmony* with the sentiments which have dominion over us, at the moment the prospects are presented to us. The manner of building of uncivilized ages proves that our ancestors had little regard to these beauties. Children are not sensible of them, and we ourselves are affected differently by them in different humours.

"Love, friendship, independence, are all in harmony with these beauties. Self-love, vanity, assurance, are in dissonance with them. The unhappy is consoled by the view of a beautiful landscape, when it recalls to him some object he has lost, and is in harmony with those of his regret."—Sir Egerton Brydges has quoted this in his *Autobiography*, v. ii. p. 990.

"It is the first mild day of March:
Each minute sweeter than before.
The redbreast sings from the tall larch,
That stands beside our door.

There is a blessing in the air,
Which seems a sense of joy to yield
To the bare trees, and mountains bare,
And grass in the green field.

Love, now a universal birth,
From heart to heart is stealing;
From earth to man; from man to earth.
It is the hour of feeling.

Some silent laws our hearts will make,
Which they shall long obey;

and have recollections of what then occurred to ourselves, that we understand and enjoy the verses which recall to us the realities they describe.*

We smile at the child running after the rainbow ; but the impulse and the delight which excite him, are the natural effects of the splendid pageant of the cloud on his vision at that season ; as natural to him as the activities of his limbs ; and such emotions leave impressions which the cultivated mind loves afterward to cherish.† As Wordsworth is the

We, for the year to come, may take
Our temper from to-day."

Wordsworth's Poems, v. 5. p. 209.

*

EARLY SPRING.

"I heard a thousand blended notes,
While in a grove I sat reclined ;
In that sweet mood, when pleasant thoughts
Bring sad thoughts to the mind.

To her fair works did nature link
The human soul that through me ran ;
And much it grieved my heart to think
What man has made of man.

Through primrose tufts in that sweet bower
The periwinkle trail'd its wreaths ;
And 'tis my faith, that every flower
Enjoys the air it breathes.

The birds around me hop'd and play'd,
Their thoughts I cannot measure ;
But, the least motion which they made,
It seem'd a thrill of pleasure.

The budding twigs spread out their fan
To catch the breezy air ;
And I must think, do all I can,
That there was pleasure there.

From heaven, if this belief be sent,
If such be nature's holy plan ;
Have I not reason to lament
What man has made of man ?"

Ibid. v. 5. p. 214.

†

"My heart leaped up when I beheld
A rainbow in the sky,
So was it, *when my life began* ;
So is it now I am a man :
So be it when I shall grow old,
So, let me die.
The child is father of the man.
And I could wish my days to be
Bound, each to each, by natural piety."

Ibid. v. 1. p. 1.

poet of the natural feelings, beautiful alike in their simplicity and constant pleasurable, and even virtuous effects, we may read his sympathies with the insect world as a certain testimony of what has been provided to be, and will be, if we choose it, a common banquet, open to us all ; but which, to be enjoyed, must have been tasted and liked, in some degree, in the dawn and morning of our existence.* Whenever, then, we feel grateful to Providence for having made nature so charming to us, let us be equally thankful that he has blessed us with a season of youthful sensibility, both of frame and spirit, to be thus susceptible of the bounteous beauty.

Our delight in nature thus begins with our youth, and becomes one of the richest sources of enjoyment in our more sobered and often saddened period of elder life, when all that is worldly and artificial fails or ceases to interest. The gravest and most exercised minds are conscious of the pleasure. The traveller into distant countries is only more sensible of it, by contrasting the scenes of his boyish memory with those of his after days ; and when he returns to his natal country, the emotions spring up again enthusiastically within him.†

*
TO A BUTTERFLY.

"Stay near me ! Do not take thy flight !
A little longer stay in sight ;
Much converse do I find in thee,
Historian of my infancy !
Float near me ! Do not yet depart !
Dead times revive in thee.
Thou bring'st, gay creature as thou art,
A solemn image to my heart ;
My father's family.

O pleasant, pleasant were the days,
The time, when in our childish plays,
My sister Emmeline, and I,
Together chased the butterfly.
A very hunter did I rush
Upon the prey. With leaps and springs
I followed on from brake to bush ;
But she, God love her ! feared to brush
The dust from off its wings."

Wordsworth, v. i. p. 4.

† Mr. Frazer, who has made Persia and its vicinities so interesting to us, has given us these effusions after his return to his native Highlands.

"I delight in a country life when I am in the country. I am enchanted with its employments and amusements ; and I feel as if I could scarce like to live any where else. The recollections of London are pleasant ; but I feel completely happy here. Every thing seems con-

Youth is, indeed, the poetry of life ; and with that sanguine ardour of expectation, that pictorial power of imagination, and those self-flattering and enthusiastic hopes which have been appointed constitutionally to attend its course, it actually invests all things before it and about it, and especially the distant prospects of its career, with a poetry of dress, and feature, and feeling, which makes the scenery and incidents of human existence, to have for its vernal season a charm and a beauty to its individual spirit, which no other period of its duration here experiences. There are exceptions and contrasts, from the persons and circumstances that may be connected with it ; but the natural tendency and effect of it is what I have alluded to. Noble purposes, generous impulses, eager self-devotion, fearless courage, romantic enterprise ; the fondest love, the acutest sensibility, and the richest fancy, are all the companions of our younger days ; which a hardier frame, and the employments of manhood, and commerce with the world at large, and its collisions and competitions, at last weaken, blunt, and intercept.*

genial to my mind. I delight in the wild and inexhaustible variety of the scenery. I feel my spirit expand among the pathless mountains and interminable tracts of rock, and muir, and waste.

"When my foot is on the hill, and my gun is in my hand, free to roam at will and unrestricted, I can conceive nothing more exhilarating, more pregnant with enjoyment. Without doors all is healthful excitement and rational recreation ; within all is comfort and content. Yes, the Highlands is the country of enchantment ; I know nothing more charming."—*Frazer's Highland Smugglers*, v. i. p. 320. These feelings are obviously the result of young impressions and young associations.

* "There was a time when meadow, grove, and stream,

The earth, and every common sight

To me did seem

Apparell'd in celestial light ;

The glory and the freshness of a dream.

It is not now, as it hath been of yore.

Turn wheresoe'er I may,

By night or day,

The things which I have seen, I now can see no more.

The rainbow comes and goes ;

And lovely is the rose ;

The moon doth, with delight,

Look round when the heavens are bare :

Waters on a starry night

Are beautiful and fair ;

The sunshine is a glorious birth ;

But yet I know,

Where'er I go,

That there hath passed away, a glory from the earth."

Wordsworth, v. 5. p. 347.

As I do not remember any author who has so justly and so fully described the sentiments in this first season of our human life, nor their effects on the succeeding periods, I will quote another passage from one of this poet's odes, in which they are again very truly and successfully delineated :—

O Joy ! that in our embers
Is something that doth live :
That nature yet remembers,
What was so fugitive !
The thought of our past years in me doth breed
Perpetual benediction ; not, indeed,
For that which is most worthy to be blest,
Delight and liberty ; the simple creed
Of childhood ; whether busy or at rest,
With new-fledged hope still fluttering in her breast.
Not for these I raise
The song of thanks and praise—
But for those first affections,
Those shadowy recollections,
Which, be they what they may,
Are yet the fountain-light of all our day ;
Are yet a master-light of all our seeing ;
Uphold us ; cherish ; and have power to make
Our noisy years seem moments in the being
Of the eternal silence ; truths that wake
To perish never ;
Which neither listlessness, nor mad endeavour,
Nor man, nor boy,
Nor all that is at enmity with joy,
Can utterly abolish or destroy.*

Happy will those be in the sterner or sedater portions of their life, who have looked on nature early with an eye of admiration and love, and who have cherished the feelings which she excites on the young impressibilities ; she will then be interesting to them ever afterward, and even in her roughest moods and features, as many have experienced.†

* Wordsworth, v. 5. p. 354.

† Burns has thus described his later feelings which originated in his juvenile days :

"I take a peculiar pleasure in the season of WINTER, more than the rest of the year. There is something even in

The mighty tempest and the hoary waste,
Abrupt and deep, stretched o'er the buried earth ;

which raises the mind to a serious sublimity, favourable to every thing great and noble. There is scarcely any object that gives me more—shall I call it pleasure,—but something which exalts me, something which enraptures me,—than to walk in the sheltered side of a wood or high plantation in a cloudy winter day, and to hear the stormy wind howling

They are all meant to operate to one end. They lead the mind to Him from whom they have emanated ; by whom they were planned to arise thus within us, and to produce this result. The young heart, in its joy, flies in gratitude to its divine giver. The more reflecting maturity takes the same direction, and especially when any of the disappointments of human things make it desirous of something better.*

It is also in childhood that arises that believing feeling or habit of the mind, which is so much connected with our social as well as our individual happiness, and without which life would be a succession of irritations and uncertainties, and a perpetual battle. If we habitually discredited and doubted whatever others said, or what they knew before we knew, or what they have heard or seen, which we have not ; if we treated every thing with skepticism and incredulity, or had to argue, maintain, and prove whatever we might be acquainted with or express ; or if we offended others by continual objections or dispute ; the quiet society of a cat, a pigeon, or any silent animal, would be preferable to the eternal wrangling of a systematical doubter, or an habitual debater. Yet, judging from what we sometimes find among mankind, and from the effect of pride, self-assumption, love of superiority, and attempts to lower others and display ourselves, there seems reason to believe, that if we had begun existence in the full maturity of our being, and with all the ignorance of its first birth ; sturdy egotism, continual denial, fierce dispute, mutual contradiction, mistrust, and incredulity, and pertinacious doubt of another's veracity, would have predominated almost universally ; at least among the male division of mankind. Tuition would be impossible, when the teacher was distrusted, and the instruction irksome.

among the trees, and raving over the plain. It is my best season for devotion. My mind is then rapt into an enthusiasm to Him, who walks on the wings of the wind."

* The American poet intimates this effect on his own sensibilities, in his apostrophe to the Sky.

"O! when amid the throngs of men,
The heart grows sick of hollow mirth ;
How willingly we turn us then
Away from this cold earth ;
And look into Thy azure breast
For seats of innocence and rest !"

Bryant's Skies.

But the plan of our childhood and youth precludes this evil, and announces in this respect the foreseeing sagacity and benign provisions of our Creator. It is natural to the infant mind to believe, to acquiesce, to defer, and to receive. It never doubts, disputes, or rejects. It has a happy credulity, as well as docility. It thus becomes habitual to it to trust, to confide, and to rely, instead of suspecting, doubting, snarling, and disbelieving.

It grows up with a persuasion of the reality of external things, and of the good meaning and integrity of its fellow-beings. Belief becomes its general principle, and doubt and skepticism the exception; and never, at first, a very welcomed one. Unless this system had been thus beautifully made the law and course of human nature, there could not have been any lasting society, any mutual liking or confidence, any civil union, or any domestic comfort.

But under the present plan and economy of our being, our juvenile belief lays firmly the foundations of our knowledge, and provides us with a valuable store of right ideas and feelings, and a social frame of mind. It creates a mutual dependance, estimation, and courtesy, which cause our active life to begin properly, harmoniously, and comfortably. Then as our private reasonings and personal experience increase, what are really weeds in our opinions die away of themselves, or are calmly and gradually obliterated, as new facts take their place, and our enlarged judgment selects what appears better. The man of real knowledge and wise judgment will never be a professed or habitual skeptic, nor see any merit in general incredulity. He will view every subject on its own particular grounds; think of its ascertained realities, and desire to have no other opinion upon it than what is just, and that will be always what is true, as far as he can discern it. Nature has nothing but facts and certainties. She presents these to us, and never inculcates the Indian fantasy, that all or any are but maya or delusion. It has been surmised with much probability that there is something wrong in the heart, or disarranged in the mind of that individual who, early and without personal experience of its effects, begins to impute knavishness to others, or to suspect design, falsehood, or intended deception. Later experience may force the mind to this cautionary doubt, but it is always a

feeling that diminishes both benevolence and personal comfort.*

The peculiar susceptibility of the young mind to poetry, to works of feeling, to imaginative narrations, and to reading or hearing of romantic incidents, or of supernatural fictions, is also striking; and this is so natural and so universal, and has in all countries created so many tales of this sort, which have been the delight of millions, and of all species of the human population, that we cannot err in presuming that it is an effect which was intended to take place. But if so, if it be a part of the original plan of our nature, it must have a quality in it of a beneficial agency; for nothing is a natural instinct or inclination within us which is not of this character. My belief is, that all romantic fiction which does not actually and purposely paint and praise vice and vicious characters, and seek to make them attractive and imitated, acts advantageously on the mind, and especially on the well-educated spirit, and most certainly adds to the happiness of life.† As the great Duke of Marlborough is said to have derived his knowledge of English history from Shakspeare's historical plays, so a large proportion of mankind derive much of their moral impressions and opinions from the narratives, fictitious or real, which they read, hear, or talk about. These influence more than the songs of a nation; and their composition improves as the social mind advances; but they will no more cease to interest than the eye to see. It is, there-

* It is a real advantage to youth that it is long indisposed and unwilling to think ill of others. It is a great fault of maturer life to be too prone to look only at defects or errors; to criticise, to detract; to think the whole bad if a part of any character be so. Youth is more generous and confiding, and often more just; for as we grow up, our caution makes us frequently unjust. A large experience will convince us that Burns has stated fairly the more general truth in these equitable observations.

“Every man, even the worst, has something good about him, though it is often nothing else than a happy temperament of constitution, inclining him to some virtue. Hence, no man can say in what degree any other person, besides himself, can be with strict justice called wicked.

“I have often courted the acquaintance of that part of mankind commonly called blackguards; those, who by thoughtless prodigality or headstrong passions have been drawn to ruin; and though disgraced by follies, and sometimes stained with guilt, I have yet found among them, in not a few instances, some of the noblest virtues; magnanimity, generosity, disinterested friendship, and even modesty.”

† Even Luther once said, “I would not, for any quantity of gold, part with the wonderful tales which I have retained from my earliest youth, or have met with in my progress through life.”—Athen. Jan. 1834.

fore, a benefit to society when a moral genius writes them. Dr. Johnson's grand idea is universally true: "whatever withdraws us from the power of our senses; whatever makes the past, the distant, or the future predominate over the present, advances us in the dignity of thinking beings."* Most men of genius and celebrity have been fond of romances in their youth, and the taste has continued to their latest age. I have no doubt that the ancient romances of the middle ages, especially *Amadis de Gaul*, and, in a less degree, *Amadis of Greece*, and their companion fictions, were of great service to our forefathers.† I cannot here detail the facts on which I have formed this opinion, nor the reasonings which convince me, that with all their occasional imperfections, and the evils of some, the fictitious narratives of the present day contribute no small degree of both moral and intellectual improvement to many; but I remember meeting with some remarks on the connexion between poetry and religion, in a periodical work, which seem to me too good and too just to be forgotten.‡

* *Journey to Hebrides*, p. 348.

† In some very pleasing letters of Mr. Southey to Sir Egerton Brydges, there are the following new and important remarks:

"The prose romances have had a greater effect upon our literature than has been supposed. In reading *Amadis of Greece* I have found Spenser's *Mask of Cupid*, Sir Philip Sydney's *Zelmane*, and Shakespeare's *Florizel*; the latter by name going to court a shepherdess, who proves a princess at last. Was ever any single work honoured with such imitations?"

"The French romances which followed those of Calprenade, Scudery, &c., were the great storehouses from whence *Lée* and the dramatists of that age drew their plots."—Southey's *Lett.* May, 1809, in Sir Eg. Br. *Autobiog.* v. ii. p. 261. He shows their enchanting effect on the young mind in a later epistle:

"From very early boyhood, when I first read the *Arcadia*, in Mrs. Stanley's modernization of it, Sydney took possession of my mind. She had thrown away the pastoral parts, and the miserable pieces of metre with which these parts are encumbered; and therefore I had nothing to interrupt my enjoyment of the romance. Forty years have not abated my love and veneration for Sydney. I do not remember any character more nearly without reproach."—*Ib.* p. 267.

‡ "The connexion between the want of the religious principle and the want of poetical feelings, is seen in Hume and Gibbon. They had, radically, unpoetical minds."

"Revealed religion is especially poetical. While its disclosures have an originality which engages the intellect, they have a beauty to satisfy the moral nature. It presents us with those ideal forms of excellence in which a poetical mind delights, and with which all grace and harmony are associated. It brings us into a new world; a world of overpowering interest, of the sublimest views and of the tenderest and purest feelings."

There is another intellectual advantage in our infancy and youth. This plan solves the question for all, how we can best acquire ideas and knowledge, with what we should begin, and how our mental faculty can be best led to an acquaintance with the external world, and to form perceptions from it, and to compose out of it that furnished intellect, which will be most useful and most improving to us.

A full maturity would have overwhelmed and confused us, and precluded just thought and orderly arrangement, by the crowding multiplicity and irregularity of the ever-occurring sensations which would be ceaselessly flowing upon us, and from their excitation of us to actions upon them. Our childhood averts this evil. It causes us to have and to be susceptible of no more impressions, than will at that time be serviceable to us. It slowly and very gradually introduces us to a knowledge of external things, and keeps away from our consciousness and attention, at first, all the outward mass, except those few that we then most need, and will soonest understand. On these our baby thought is exercised; and as it masters them, every month brings new ones to it, which it is thus enabled to comprehend and class, without being disturbed by more than it can use and appreciate. By this means it is gently trained to the distinguishing its sensations from each other; to making right ideas from them; to an exact discrimination of its various perceptions; and, what is of the most fundamental importance, to connecting the internal image or impression, or the notion formed from it, with the right external thing. This is of vast consequence to us. It is in all most happily and

"The peculiar grace of mind of the New Testament writers is as striking as the actual effect produced upon the heart of those who have imbibed their spirit.

"With Christians a poetical view of things is a duty. We are bid to colour all things with the views of faith; to see a divine meaning in every event, and a superhuman tendency. Even our friends around are invested with unearthly brightness; no longer imperfect men, but beings taken into divine favour, stamped with His seal, and in training for future happiness.

"The virtues peculiarly Christian, are also essentially poetical. Meekness, gentleness, compassion, contentment, modesty, besides the devotional virtues. Whereas, the ruder and more ordinary feelings, anger, indignation, emulation, martial spirit, and love of independence, are the instruments of rhetoric more justly than of poetry."—*London Review*, 1829, v. i. p. 159.

invariably effected ; but it is quite inexplicable by what interior magic this is accomplished. No one can explain how it is, that the infant assigns each particular idea or image in its thought or memory to the external thing from which it has been formed, and thus establishes a connexion and correspondence between them which never ceases through life.

No discovery of the greatest philosopher seems to me to be more surprising, or so much so, as that which every babe accomplishes for itself—the correct association of its mental impressions, with the proper objects in nature which have occasioned them. Yet this is done by all with unerring constancy, and perhaps only could have been done by its perceptions of external things coming at first in such fewness to it. Its mother, its nurse, its food, its room, its bed, its nearest friends, are the whole of the outward world with which it is at first conversant. It learns thoroughly to understand these, and to connect these realities with its own interior impressions and remembrances.

New ones occur, but only in small number afterward, until it can walk about ; and thus the mighty faculties of our mind are led and trained into activity by this gentle progression. Thus they are confined from month to month, and from the first year to the second, the third, and onward to its youth, to that narrowed sphere of needful things, which enables it to acquire the power of knowing what is about it, and the habit of making just perceptions of it.

This sphere enlarges as childhood advances, and thus the mind has learned to feel ; to perceive that it is in a world of other things and persons ; to discriminate between them ; to acquire an ever-increasing knowledge of them, and to act rightly towards them, before the full possession of all its limbs and functions multiplies its sensations, and supplies continual excitation to its free and individual agency. It has thus gradually taught itself to be a human being, before it is called upon or instigated to act habitually like one.

But if youth be thus delightful and beneficial to us, what must the maturity of our earthly frame and powers be ! It is what the fruit is to the flower ; the summer to the spring ; the completed composition to the lively sketches and sanguine progress of the devising fancy. It is the concentration, and consolidation, and realization of all the powers, and enjoyments, and activities and faculties which have been

assigned to human nature. If the mind has been properly educated, if it has been trained to right self-conduct, if virtuous principles direct it, if love of knowledge inspires it, if its future destinies, and their divine sovereign, have their due influence upon us; if the scenes of life have added experience without diminishing integrity; if the passions and appetites be as much governed by moral regulations in ourselves, as we always expect and require them to be in others; if we have accustomed ourselves to observe both the beauties in the natural scenes and objects which we see, and also those which may be traced in every fellow-creature we know; if philanthropy, instead of misanthropy, be our cherished feeling, and cheerfulness, instead of spleen, the habit of our temper; if we have cultivated our natural taste for what is good and just, and amiable and kind, and have made it the habit both of the thought and action; then manhood or womanhood will be found to be the most perfect state of our human existence. Its cares and difficulties, and even its possible adversities, will be but temporary; and will always prove, if we will perceive and assist their useful operation, but so many enlarging and diversifying improvements and advantages to us.* Steady exertion, good spirits, well-founded hopes, persevering patience, maintained contentedness, waiting resignation, and the superior aid and benediction, will soon lead us either to surmount what is disagreeable, or not feel it to be so; for the severest visitations of this character are more evils of the imagination than of the sensorial reality, if we do not aggravate the puncture by our own irritations, and ambitions, and unreachable wishes.†

* "Most great men have been nurtured in the midst of isolation and pain, destitution and contradiction. The artichoke will not grow except in gardens, but the acorn is cast carelessly abroad in the wilderness, yet on the wild soil it nourishes itself and rises to be an oak. Fat manure would be its ruin. The thinner and wilder your soil, the tougher and more iron-textured is your timber, though also the *smaller*."

"So too with the spirits of men. They become pure from their errors by suffering for them. He who has battled with poverty and hard toil will be found stronger and more expert."—Edin. Rev. No. 110. p. 341.

† The world abounds with proof that all states and circumstances, whatever be the privations attending them, may yet be happy. I will select only two, which we usually think the least likely, from condition, to be so—the Russian and the Tartar.

The Russian author, Karamain, thus speaks of his own poor countrymen:

A very prevalent cause of the unhappiness of so many in mature life exists from our fixing the thought, wish, passion, and pursuit, on something which is not in our possession, and which we cannot command, or which is really unattainable by the individual who cherishes the desire.

It is the general misfortune not to be content with what we have ; not to see or cultivate the sources of comfort which in our personal circumstances may be realized ; and not to value what we are enjoying, because we have it, and, by the daily use of it, become indifferent to it, till we learn its importance by its departing from us. If every one would but study to extract pleasure from his means of pleasure, however humble, and to be as happy as it is in his power to make himself in his situation, without looking at other means

"Beneath the bright skies of France, under the shade of chestnut-trees, in the midst of vineyards and in the neighbourhood of large cities, it is not difficult to be cheerful. But deprived of all these excitements, the RUSSIAN PEASANT is equally gay. Surrounded by forests, shut up in his smoky cabin, or toiling during his short summer, he is always joyous, always singing or joking. Without schools, the inhabitants of our villages often instruct themselves in reading ; and the number of poets and romancers to be found among this class of our population, is hardly inferior to that of our professed literati. Are there so many among these that will live so long as the songs and traditional tales of the other ? It is admitted as a general rule, that happiness consists in being satisfied with little. Now there is certainly no one that has fewer artificial wants than the Russian peasant, or who submits to labour so contentedly and cheerfully."

The TARTARS of the Crimea, with very different habits, have been thus described and estimated by an Englishman with much good sense and enlarged consideration :

"The life of a Tartar would appear to leave nothing to desire. True, he is indolent and poor ; but his wishes are as limited as his means. He gathers the fruit that falls beside him, and sitting on the roof of his house, or under the shade of the walnut-tree, which sheltered his father's father, he tastes all the mild gladness of repose.

"The Russians exclaim against the laziness of the Tartars, but wherefore should they work ? They are the happiest peasantry possible without it, and are naturally unwilling to sink into common labourers.

"Hence the man is never permanently miserable. He struggles with events, and when unable to control them, he adapts himself to their course. He does not attain what he wishes, but what he can. He is therefore always as happy as he can be.

"Nature balances her favours. To one she gives a clearer climate ; to another, a free spirit ; to one, a good government ; to another, a good religion ; to one, freedom from plague ; to another, skill to defeat disease. Thus, all are found, if not in the same scale of rational being, at least with equal means of happiness."—Webster's Travels through the Crimea, 1830.

of gratification, which are not within his reach ; all would experience a comfortable manhood, and learn from their own sensations that every one may be in this agreeable condition. The apostle presents to us the true and golden rule on this subject :—" For I have learned in whatsoever state I am, therewith to be content."* On this principle we shall find that we may all sing with sincerity the sensible old song,—

" My mind to me a kingdom is,
Such perfect joy therein I find."†

Every class of life may by this means be the builders of their own happiness here, in a much greater degree than most believe ; and we may all make ourselves as joyous in a cottage as in a palace. How often have travellers verified this possibility, and we should all remember that we are but sojourners and travellers here. Life is a journey ; our habitations in it are our inns, and we are all moving with various speed to a permanent home, which will be a paradise to every being, if we will take the trouble—not over-burdensome—to make it so to us.

But, you may ask, is every manhood thus happy ? is it not the complaint and the experience that it is accompanied with disease, trouble, and sorrow, anxieties and vicissitudes ? Certainly ; it has these visitants ; and we all, in great diversities of degree and mode, have to receive and to endure them. But these are evils which arise from the actions and conduct of others, by which we are affected, or by our own mismanagement ; or by that state of things which, as man has shaped his social world, in disregard or opposition to better laws or principles, he has brought upon himself. We are all living and walking in a labyrinth and entanglement of human things, which human errors and follies have been for ages creating and continuing, and by which the divine formations and provisions for our benefit are every day and hour counteracted. The natural is checkered and saddened greatly by the artificial.

But these considerations belong to another part of our

* Phil. iv. 11.

† Milton's idea is similar—

" The mind is its own place ; and in itself
Can make a Heaven of Hell ; a Hell of Heaven."

Par. L. book I.

subject, and therefore shall not be pursued here ; yet it may be remarked, that if the posterity of Adam and Eve had not been ever since, like them, thwarting and disobeying their Creator, and opposing his government, and disliking and refusing his guidance, it must be manifest to every judgment that the present state and circumstances of our social world, under which we all at various times suffer, would not have existed. He would have directed us, if we would have followed his directions ; and his moral laws and counsels are still ever striving to lead us, if we would but steadily observe them, into those systems, habits, and dispositions of social life, which would have made earth, and in no long time would yet make it again, a moral, intellectual, and even physical paradise ; for there are all the natural means, and materials, and agencies now afloat around us to cause such a result, as soon as human nature will acquire and receive from him the wisdom and the virtue to produce it. Most of our afflictions, and even our diseases, we bring on ourselves, and contribute to do so towards others, by doing so often what we ought not, and by omitting so much to do what we ought.

It is essential that we should act in conformity to his moral and natural laws, if we expect to be benefited by them. It is impossible that we can derive or sustain our wellbeing by neglecting or resisting them.

But my present object and duty are only to show, that in his plan and constitution of our nature, he has formed us so that every season of our human life may, as far as our frame and as external nature are concerned, be successive periods of successive enjoyments ; and that, according to their habitual laws and agencies, they always in themselves tend and act to this end. The disturbing causes come from other sources to us, in counteraction to his gracious system and provisions for our welfare. He made us to be happy ; he gave us every natural means and powers to be so ; it is our fault, not his, if we are otherwise. If mankind had let him always regulate their mind and conduct, as he desired and proposed to do, the social world would have been long since a practical and beautiful Utopia in every period, both of individual life and of its general history. The happinesses which I have been enumerating show what his creation of us has endowed us with the natural ability to experience ; and we must ask ourselves and the biography of our fellow-creatures

why such skilful and benevolent provisions of our Maker, for our continual comfort, have been so greatly frustrated.

If our Creator has made our youthful sensibilities so delicious to us, they do not naturally lessen as our frame becomes more complete and mature, unless we choose to neglect them, or to let other impressions overpower them. All conditions of life prove this to be the fact. Beethoven, in all the glory of his success, as one of the princely musicians of the human race, avowed his gratifications from nature in the prime of his manhood.* We find effusions of the same sort from the Ettrick Shepherd, in his highland moors.† The traveller in the wild forest scenes of Canada, alike displays

* Beethoven, when residing in 1824 near Vienna, walking out with the writer of the incident, ascended a hill to a large and stately wood, with ruins of castles and vines loaded with grapes in the prospect from it. "Here!" exclaimed Beethoven, his eyes sparkling like diamonds, "here you see nature's laboratory, roofed by heaven itself. How glorious is this roof! How beautiful its azure colour! unobstructed by men's works of clay. And yonder, behold the great luminary, full of majesty, distributing nourishment to all which his paternal influence has fostered into life, and clothing them with such beautiful colours as the rainbow exhibits. Here, sir, we ought to worship; in the temple formed by nature herself, and inhabited by numberless creatures, all adoring their Creator, in the enjoyment of their existence, warbling contentment in a thousand accents. Here the soul of man expands with joy and awe. Sometimes I try to express my emotions in songs like birds, essaying to fix with my pen the impressions which I exhale. But, alas! how different is what I write from what I wish to portray! I believe it to be altogether useless to attempt to convey our mind fully to that of another. We must be contented with the rough sketch, which our unskilful hands may make of our glowing imaginations."—Quarterly Musical Mag. 1826.

† Mr. Hogg's Song to the Skylark, amid several others, breathes a pleasant feeling from the sight of one of the natural objects in the fields he traversed. It reminds me of what the same bird has excited in myself, as I have seen it ascending and carolling over Epsom Downs.

"Bird of the wilderness!
 Blithesome and cumberless!
 Sweet be thy matin o'er moorland and lea!
 Emblem of happiness!
 Blest is thy dwelling-place.
 O! to abide in the desert with thee!
 Wild is thy lay, and loud;
 Far in the downy cloud.
 Love gives it energy: love gave it birth.
 Where, on thy dewy wing,
 Where art thou journeying?
 Thy lay is in heaven: thy love is on earth.
 O'er fell and fountain sheen,
 O'er moor and mountain green,

them.* In every path of life and nature we are so framed, that even the very atmosphere kindles animating emotions in the manly breast.†

But are there any, in their mature life, who cannot, from their own experience, bear testimony to the gracious provision which has been made, in their natural constitution, for being as happy in their middle period as in their earlier one? Vicious habits indeed may, and must, and ever will banish comfort and happiness from life; and especially the

O'er the red streamer that heralds the day;

Over the cloudlet dim,

Over the rainbow's rim;

Musical cherub! soar, singing away.

Then when the evening comes,

Low in the heather blooms

Sweet will thy welcome and bed of love be.

Emblem of happiness!

Blest is thy dwelling-place!

O! to abide in the desert with thee!"

Songs by the Ettrick Shepherd.

* Mr. Head, in his *Forest Scenes of Canada*, thus describes one of his days as he traversed them:

"June 2. Clear and warm. I came to a fine spot. In this sweet shrubbery, there were the birch and maple, the token of an improved soil, while wild currant and gooseberry bushes, in rich abundance, tufted the banks of a little stream of clear water. I sat down; quite delighted with so charming a spot.

"Beautiful birds were drinking and splashing themselves in the water; and gaudy butterflies, of a very large size, were fanning the air with their yellow and black wings.

"At this moment a little blazing meteor shot like a glowing coal of fire across the glen. And I saw, for the first time, what, in a moment, I recognised to be the greatest of nature's beauties of the feathered race; that resplendent living gem, the hummingbird. Buzzing like a humbebee, which it exactly resembles in its flight and sound, it sprang through the air, tracing angle after angle, with the velocity of lightning; till poised above its favourite flower, all motion seemed lost in its very intensity. The humming sound alone certified to the ear the rapid vibration of wing by which it supported its little airy form. I was never more excited to wonder than by this little creature; so unexpected was its appearance, and so much more did it resemble a splendid insect than a bird."—Head's *Forest Scenes*.

† "What a lovely morning! What a delicious air! What a splendid scene! This is truly exhilarating. I feel at this moment just as if neither strength nor spirits could ever fail me. Often have I thus felt the reviving influence of morning. Often, after a hot and restless night, spent in a comfortable bivouac, I have hailed the approach of dawn, and blessed the dewy freshness, even when I knew it would be the harbinger of carnage and death."—Frazer's *Higl. Smugg.* v. i. p. 91. I have felt this myself as much between 40 and 50 as between 15 and 20.

abuse of those indulgences which are connected with our daily subsistence.* But these dismal contrasts and frightful exceptions only point out the utilities, as well as the dignity and ornament,—nay, the necessity of virtue: without this, nothing can make life, at any age, happy; or in any country. The moral maxims of all the sages acknowledge this fact. It is the law of Providence that all shall feel this monitory truth. But with the ennobling companionship and actuating influences of the virtuous principle, the humblest and the poorest may, as the American novelist, who has seen and read life largely, intimates, secure to themselves a personal distinction.† But are not the reasons of this ever legible to us? What is the moral panorama around us? Instead of mutual kindness, aid, courtesy, and benevolence, which the Deity has recommended and commanded, and which he meant to be the forming and guiding principles of our social world, are we not too much envying, jostling, thwarting, lashing, impeding, repelling, opposing, provoking, and jarring with each other? Whether we write or whether we talk, how little does philanthropy influence either our voice or our pen! We act too frequently in the Arab spirit: “His hand

* The vicinity of Dublin could, in June, 1830, exhibit such a scene as this. “Yesterday was what was called the Walking Sunday of St. John’s Well. An immense assemblage;—all were dancing, singing, eating, or drinking.—I have just returned from the fair ground, and the scene it presented was horrible and disgusting in the extreme. Dozens of drunken wretches, hatless, coatless, shoeless, nay, even shirtless, were scattered along the road; some sleeping away their last night’s debauchery, and others, with drooping heads, stealing into the city, to avoid the gaze of others. Numbers too of decently dressed women and girls, actually intoxicated, with tattered bonnets and torn clothes, were returning with shame to their respective homes. The sight was abominable.”—*Morn. Herald*, 26 June, 1830.

† It is to Mr. Cooper’s honour that he has frankly written his conviction on this point. “While all must be conscious of the fearful infirmities which beset human nature, there are none so base as not to know that their being contains the seeds of that godlike principle which still likens them to their divine Creator. VIRTUE commands the respect of man, in whatever accidental stage of civilization or of mental improvement he may happen to exist; and he who practises its precepts is certain of the respect, though he may not always secure the protection, of his contemporaries.”—*The Heiden Maurer*, v. ii. p. 2.

It is gratifying to read the illustrious Beethoven’s analogous sentiments. “Recommend to your children the practice of virtue: for virtue alone, and not wealth, can render men happy. This I know from my own experience. It was virtue which upheld me, even in my misery; and to her, together with the Art, I am indebted for not being

against every man, and every man's hand against him."* It would be slander to say that this is generally the individual will and character, for really mankind abound with good feelings; but we do not act consistently and regularly on these. We intermix, too incongruously and too unthinkingly, the balm and the poison; we wound as well as smile; we are cruel as well as compassionate; † we are too heterogeneous in our opinions and habits. So much of the harsh and stranger spirit is ever actuating the world, that the benign intentions of our Maker, who has planned our nature on the principle that we should habitually all be "kindly affectioned one to another, with brotherly love" ‡ and mutual sympathy, § are invalidated and intercepted. But I have no desire to frame a libel against my fellow-creatures, in whose imperfections I fully share; I only seek to show, that as far as it has depended on our Creator, he has formed us with the most gracious care, to be happy in every season of our human existence; and that the failure never rests with him, if any of us happen to be otherwise.

But the world is now what it has thus become, and we must live in it as it is, and do the best we can in it and with it. All of us have our separate plans for its reformation, by which most of us would only make it something worse than it is. It is better for us to drop the idea that we can administer the rain and the sunshine, and leave all these great and general operations to His care, who, we are emphatically told, "never slumbers nor sleeps." || We cannot new-model society, or new mould or purify the public heart; but we can begin the amelioration, by a firm and wise govern-

a suicide. Farewell, and love one another."—Beethoven's Let. to his Brother in 1802, Quart. Mus. Mag. * Gen. xvi. 12.

† The great Tamerlane, or Timour, was a strong instance of this contrariety, which many inferiors of all classes too often display. Though he meant to be humane, and in his Autobiography remarks, how extremely shocked he was one day at having unintentionally trodden upon an ant; yet he ordered molten lead to be poured down the throats of some persons who had indulged in wine. So though he says, "Whenever I undertook any thing, I cared not whether it was deemed a lucky or unlucky hour, but commenced it, placing my faith on God;" yet he soon adds, "At the time I invaded Fars, the people of Shiraz took part with Shah Mansur, and put my governor to death. I therefore ordered a general massacre of all the inhabitants."—Timour's Autobiog.

‡ Rom. xii. 10.

§ "Rejoice with them that do rejoice, and weep with them that weep."—Rom. xii. 15.

|| Psalm cxxi. 3, 4.

ment and improvement of our own. Let us mainly study this effect, and a new spirit and temper would soon warm into action about us, with all the buds and blooms of a fresh moral spring. No one knows how much good he may do by his own quiet and unobtruding good example. Our eyes are always on each other; and if we took but half as much pains to make our dispositions and feelings pleasing to each other as we do to make our complexions, persons, and dress agreeable, we should be half seraphs ourselves, and be ever unconsciously educating and aiding others to become such. By improving ourselves, we should be silent and secret benefactors to all with whom we intermingle and associate. We cannot well avoid, more or less, imitating each other. Those who see or feel in another what they like, what they perceive to be pleasing, are imperceptibly attracted to do what they find from their own sensations to be gratifying, and what they hear to be approved of by those who observe it. No one, therefore, acts rightly without acting beneficently in so doing. He scatters the seed of a sweet flower, that will spring up again in some other bosom, sure to multiply itself in the same way for ever.*

It is a predominant principle in the system of human nature, that the designs which have been formed for its improvement are also made contributory to its happiness; and in this respect we may admire the tendency and efficacy of the succession of the four stages of our earthly being, and of their occurring in the order we all pass through. The pleasures and activities, as well as the disciplines and corrective vicissitudes of our after life, cause us to forget the enjoyments of our cradle era; but, excepting the anomalies

* The Edinburgh Review, in July, 1832, had these striking remarks on this subject: "How is moral reform to be looked for, but in this way: that more and more good men are, by a bountiful Providence, sent hither to disseminate goodness; literally to sow it, as in seeds shaken abroad by the living tree?"

"For such, in all ages and places, is the nature of a good man. He is ever a mystic, creative centre of goodness. His influence, if we consider it, is not to be measured. For his works do not die; but, being of eternity, are eternal: and in new transformation, and ever wider diffusion, endure, living and giving life. If thou exclaimest against the baseness of time, think of this. To redeem a world sunk into dishonesty has not been given to thee. Solely over one man in it hast thou power. Redeem him; make him honest; this will be something; it will be much; thy life and labour there will not be in vain—*THYSELF*,"—Edin. Rev. No. 110, p. 357.

which arise from neglecting or depraved mothers, these must be as soothing as those of all young animals seem to be; with the addition of those maternal endearments and commingling sensibilities, which it is the privilege of the human race only to participate. All these gratifications are hourly increased, as the senses begin to attend to and to perceive the external things which affect it; for it is a law of our intellectual nature, that every new sensation is a pleasure. Even pain, in its novelty, from its exciting operation, is not wholly disagreeable, if it be not too severe nor too continuous; and when it is so, its departure causes a sense of positive enjoyment to succeed to it, merely from its absence. This I have repeatedly experienced. But with the exception of what is of the painful kind, the continual occurrence of fresh impressions, unknown before, which, from a world where every thing is new to it, as it begins to be acquainted with it, are continually occurring to the growing child, must make that state of its being a happy era. We see this effect continually before us. Who is so happy as the self-amusing child that is tolerably well brought up? Its hours glide in playful comfort. It seems to feel life, as the ascending lark and the sportive insect do, to be an instinctive blessing. Left to itself, and permitted to pursue its own little fancies and activities, it is happy, because it exists and moves; for we are so formed, that motion, as well as sensation, is pleasurable to us.

Old age is querulous. It is one of its defects at times to be so; but let not this occasional weakness deceive you. Age suffers often from calamities which it has brought upon itself, and from many splenetic feelings, which it might relinquish if it chose. But you may be assured that, naturally, it has new gratifications of its own, which fully balance those of earlier days, and which, if cultivated, would carry on the stream of happiness to its grave. If the life has been rightly employed, it will also have the visioned recollections of its preceding comforts, to enhance the pleasures which it is actually enjoying.*

* On this last period of life my own experience is, in the 67th year of my age, that, notwithstanding ailments, infirmities, and the privations which they occasion, it is just as happy as all the preceding seasons were, though in a different way. So happy, as to cause no regret that they have passed, and no desire to exchange what is for what has

The result of both our reasoning and our experience is, if we act properly ourselves, and keep a right judgment within us, as well as becoming habits, that each period has and brings its own felicities ; and that it will be the fault of human mismanagement, not of created nature and its plan, if infancy, childhood, youth, maturity, and old age, be not a series of diversified pleasures : each period having its own best suiting and wisely appointed ones, and altogether composing a noble banquet of rational happiness, partly sensorial, partly moral, and partly intellectual, terminating, if we shall so choose, with that which is divine, and which is meant, ultimately, to be superior to every other.

LETTER XII.

Paradise—State of Adam and Eve—The Divine Command—The Necessity of such Tuition—Reasons for its Imposition.

MY DEAR SYDNEY,

HAVING taken this survey of the system of being which our Creator devised and selected to be that of the human nature which he chose to place on this our globe ; and of its intended qualities, and of the provisions which he made for its moral and intellectual formation while here ; let us now proceed to consider the actual execution of his interesting design, in the experienced history of our thus favoured race.

It was his will, that our order of being should begin with two parents, one of each of the sexes already alluded to, and that from these, in an ever-multiplying series of productions, by a continued succession of new generations, all that quantity of human beings should issue, which have since constituted the human population. It was also his plan, that these two originating ancestors should begin their existence in a place, in a state, and under circumstances, which would not occur to any of their descendants, and which would be but a temporary condition to themselves and that of a very brief duration.

been. If youth has hopes, and prospects, and wishes that enchant it, age has no inferiority even in this respect.

The abode appointed for their first residence and experience was a selected portion of the earth, whose exact site, from the subsequent changes of its surface, cannot now be satisfactorily ascertained. It had been prepared to be a beautiful garden, where every thing that was pleasant to the eye and gratifying to the taste was provided to give delight to their young sensibilities. The abundant produce made labour unnecessary, and precluded all care or inquiry about subsistence. Their food was everywhere about them, as nature's spontaneous produce. Their daily life was the perfection of human happiness on earth, as far as terrestrial things and bodily effects could cause it. Every sensorial enjoyment; agreeable feelings; mutual affection; serene minds; the absence of all anxiety; ignorance of all that was evil; lovely objects of sight; interesting scenery; their own ever-gladdened spirits; the gentle activities of their limbs and movements; exercise without fatigue, and self-chosen occupations, without need or compulsion; interchange of thought and wishes; innocent gayety; concurring sympathies; the delights of young knowledge and conversation ever varying, yet ever pleasing, and always kind and courteous, were those elements of gratification which must have attached to the sweetly passing hours a joyous consciousness of happy existence, and imparted a soothing excitement of intellectual exhilaration. Such means of rational, sportive, and tender enjoyment, must have caused the mutually admiring and heart-united pair to be the image of their God in his felicity, as they were meant to be trained to be, and as all human nature will finally be led to be, in spirit, feeling, and temper; in its intellectual improvements, and in highly celestialized principle and character.

Such was the first state of mankind, and such will be their ultimate condition in their consummated formation; but such could not be their durable condition, anterior to the acquired completion of their nature. The child cannot be the man in its infancy, but must progressively grow into the maturity which constitutes manhood. This principle prevails in all earthly nature. The vegetating seed cannot be the beauteous flower, nor the valuable fruit, which its living principle is ordained to form, and will be always acting to compose; but for the production of which, the intermediate process, and all the assisting causes, must indispensably in-

tervene. All animal frames thus expand from their embryo state into their complete strength and figure. What is true as to all that is material and bodily, is pre-eminently true of human nature, in that attainable beauty, richness, and sublimity which it has the capacity to reach, and is invited to aspire to. But its perfection is too grand and too multifarious, and consists of too many elements, to be early or hastily effected. Many ages, a very complicated process, and a continued series of adapted progression, must first ensue : and the fit process must be gone through, and must have its due and successive operations, before the ennobling result can be accomplished among us.

Adam and Eve were but the commencement of the divine economy of human existence. They were to its ultimate perfection what the germinating seed is to the lofty forest. They could no more be what perfected human nature is meant to be and will become, than their babes at the birth could be as large, mature, and dignified as themselves. We ourselves are but in a stage, though a considerably advanced one, of this evolving series of human progression. But Adam and Eve could no more, in their paradise, be what their cultivated descendants are now, than these can transform their fields and cities into a garden of Eden. The first state of Adam and Eve was, therefore, but their first condition. This would change as they changed, and as all human life necessarily alters to every one, as his individual age advances, from his young paradise in his mother's arms and fondling love, to all the varying scenes of a very different and shifting nature, which accompany the after periods of his diversified life.

One circumstance seems obvious to us, when we reflect on the position of our first ancestors ; and this is, that their continuation in this desirable abode of beauty and delight, or at least the continuity of their happiness in it and from it, could not but be dependant on the right use they should make of all their faculties, limbs, powers, and senses. These are too great, too many, too excitable, and too pleasurable, not to need the knowledge and the habit of their due and beneficial regulation. This fact all human experience attests. We perceive its truth every day in ourselves. We must never do whatever we can, or all that we should like to do ; nor could any intelligent being, living anywhere with others,

exert or have such a license. No two creatures of mind and sensitivity could live together without mutual self-constraint. In human beings, and in our human world, this truth is incontestable.

A wrong, an injudicious, an unregulated use of our body, or of external things, is at this moment as incompatible with health, comfort, or character, to any one, as it was to Adam and Eve, even in their paradise. The first pair had to be as selecting, careful, and self-governed in their enjoyments and conduct, as every human being who has since issued from them, has found it necessary to be.

But as they were the first beings of the human form and spirit that had ever lived, they had no anterior experience, no preceding example, no human reasonings of wise predecessors, by which they could be assisted or directed. They could have no teacher but One. They had to learn all the regulations, and restrictions, and modifications of thought and feeling, which they would have to observe, from Him who had framed them and nature; and who only knew what it was expedient that they should do, and what it was his will that they should be. But to be so instructed and benefited by him, they must obey his counsels and precepts, and be implicitly and continuously guided by him. This was essential to their wellbeing. His tuition, their obedience, and their permanent happiness, were three points which could not be separated from each other; and of these, the obedience could not but be the primary and the fundamental one, as even the tuition would be useless without it.

Their permanent enjoyment of their beauteous paradise was, therefore, from the outset, made dependant on one condition—that condition on which the due formation and right conduct of all human beings must ever depend—and this was, that they should live in constant obedience to their Creator, and according to the regulations which he should suggest. It was impossible for them to preserve their wellbeing, to avoid what would be painful and detrimental, to enjoy a succession of uninterrupted good, and to do nothing that was evil or that would cause it, without receiving his counsels and directions, nor without steadily and implicitly living in continual conformity to them. Utterly ignorant at first of every thing, and having to acquire the knowledge of whatever there was to know by gradual sensations as these

should occur, and totally incapable of foreseeing any result, or of distinguishing good from evil, until by slow and progressive experience they should learn what was either, or what would become such; they would at first need as much tuition from their Maker, and as much patient and unceasing docility in themselves to his advice and precepts, as a babe to its parents, and a scholar to his preceptor. Without his directions and guidance, they could not but err; they could but bring pain and evil on themselves, as every infant would do, if unwatched and uncontrolled. Their minds were naturally in a childlike state : * all human minds are still born so; and they required then, as much as all their descendants at the first period of their human life have since needed, a commanding tutelage; but this without an implicit and never-discontinued obedience in themselves, until what was to be done became habitual, would be unavailing and useless. No one is born wise, pious, prudent, skilful, virtuous, just, or benevolent, any more than we are born manufacturers or shipwrights. We have to learn our moral virtues, as much as our mechanical dexterities. Life is the scene, and theatre, and academy of both our moral and intellectual tuition, and we must submit to learn, and to be taught, and patiently attain what we have to acquire, or we shall never be in any thing, what, for our own sakes, we ought to be. †

* M. Gutzlaff gives us some expressive instances of the difference between the knowledge of what is wrong and prejudicial to us, and the effective self-government which restrains us from doing what we know will be injurious to us and shall afterward repent of, in his account of the conduct of the Chinese sailors who navigated the junk he sailed in.

† I addressed the sailors who remained in the junk, and hoped I had prevailed on them, in some degree, to curb their evil passions. But, no sooner had I left the deck than they threw off all restraint. Unmindful of their starving families at home, they seemed willing to give up every thing they possessed, rather than abstain from that crime which entails misery, disease, and death. Having exhausted all their previous earnings, they became a prey to remorse and gloomy despair."—P. 88. Some days afterward, he mentions, "Our sailors were again insnared; but the poor fellows soon felt the consequences of their conduct; they had to sell their little stock of merchandise; often did they lament their folly, and as often remark that they had no power to become better men. Captain Eo also exclaimed, 'I am a forlorn wretch. In vain I strive against vice.' He placed an idol in his cabin, and said prayers to it, but his efforts were in vain; he would often say, 'I have a family at home looking to me for support, while I am giving myself up to folly and vice.'"—Gutzlaff's *Voy. China*, p. 104. The same scenes again, p. 110.

† Lord Byron felt and said truly, "If you could get rid of Adam and

Thus their own welfare made it indispensable that they should regard their Maker, not only as their Creator and Sovereign, but also as their moral governor; the director of what they were to do—the preceptor of the rules as to their own conduct, which they were to know and to obey; and likewise, that they should regulate their actions by the counsels and commands which he should, from time to time, think it proper to impose. Now, it is on this point that God and man have been differing ever since his creation. The human mind has never had any general disinclination to recognise, to worship, to admire, and to adore. On the contrary, it has been always prepense to do so. As a grand abstract Being, who is at the head of the universe, and royally presiding over all things in resplendent and unparalleled majesty, every spirit seems delighted to contemplate him, and would feel itself honoured, to be in any train or ceremony of public gratulation to him. The attraction of all pagan and other pomps, processions, and relics, for this purpose and with this object, in every age and country, proves the tendency of the human soul to express its homage to its God. But from the moment that this honoured Deity begins to interfere with human inclinations, to enjoin moral restraints, to require his actions to be duly regulated, to exact self-government, to limit free agency, to do what all human laws and government do, and what must be done, for society to be in peace or comfort; from that moment, the human heart begins to turn from its authentic God, and to desire and welcome any other that will not interfere between self-will and its unrestricted indulgence. Any theory of nature is preferred to such an interference: and it was on this principle that the invented gods of the heathen world attained, in their various shapes, such a universal popularity.

It was because they were made to be contented with the gift, the sacrifice, the ceremony, and the homage; and were never, like the real God, exhibited as the moral sovereigns of mankind, requiring obedience to moral laws, and commanding the practice of the social and personal virtues from their votaries. So far was this ever done, that their Jupiter was himself represented as engaged in repeated immoralities

Eve, and the apple and the serpent, still, what is to be put up in their stead? or how is the difficulty removed?"—Byron's Works, vol. vi. p. 259.

in his own actions ; and many of the most popular rites and idols of antiquity, as still in India, were of the most licentious character. Take my homage, but let me do what I like, has been always the bargain that man has wanted to make with his God ; the impossible condition—which even fellow-creatures cannot allow between each other, nor he for their sakes sanction. It was on the same cardinal point that our first parents, from the same disposition, began their fatal deviation from their Creator.

And yet the Deity is no God, unless he is a moral one and a teacher of morality to us. Without this, a dignified statue of a Phidias, or of some other fine artist, would, as it did at Athens, or in the capitol on the Tiber, answer every purpose of theatrical adoration. If he does not teach us what we are to do, and how we are to please him, and require our obedience to his tuition, a name or a marble figure would suffice quite as well as the invisible reality, if song, and show, and incense, and pantomime would content him. Yet this would be to leave mankind unguided, unregulated, and ungoverned by their Creator, although, from the necessary ignorance of their first creation, his rules and counsel for their conduct could not but be as indispensable to their wellbeing, as the light, air, and food, which he had provided for their use and comfort.

Without his instructions, they could learn the moral knowledge they needed only from their own slow and gradual experience, and long imperfect reasoning and judgment upon it. But to gain it in this manner, they must do and suffer evil, before they would perceive what was so ; and they must also discover how it was occasioned by their own mistakes—a deduction which, up to the present day, mankind are very reluctant to admit or to perceive. Hence the wisest and the kindest conduct of the Creator to his human creatures was, that he should condescend to impart, and for the due influence to command those regulations of mind and actions, without which they would not be happy in themselves, nor allow others to be so. All laws from him are at all times light, wisdom, goodness, and benefactions to us ; for they bring happiness, improvement, and knowledge in their train, in proportion as they are observed ; and will always avert the pain and disadvantages which what they prohibit as certainly occasions.

But although the knowledge of what is good and evil in our actions and emotions is essential, both to right conduct and to happy life, yet there is also another circumstance, which daily experience, which our own consciousness proves to be as indispensable, and this is SELF-GOVERNMENT; the power and will of spontaneous self-regulation; the habit of always doing what precept, information, and reason show us to be necessary. No one can doubt how impossible it is for any one to act morally or rationally, if this main element of all rectitude and comfort be omitted.

We see and feel its importance every hour. In the present age of the world, we are living, as it were, in an ocean of moral truth, ever flowing about us, and bathing our eyes, and ears, and intellectual feeling, wherever we move or act. Every censure is precept, and who is without censurers? Every advice is tuition, and who is wanting in advisers? Conversation is mostly a series of criticism on others; and thus we are all lecturing and hearing lectures almost every time we meet. But does this influx and exercise of moral tutorage produce in any a correspondent rightness of conduct? Is this at any time proportioned to our knowledge of what it ought to be? Do we perform the things we ought to do, and abstain from what we ought not to do, because we are fully apprized of the duty, and of the consequences which will follow its neglect or infraction? The answer is patent to us all in our daily memory and consciousness. We follow too much the devices and desires of our own heart. We have the abundant knowledge; we have even the convinced judgment; but we have not the necessary self-government. For this reason, we err and stray from His ways, who would by them lead us to increasing happiness. We offend against his laws, although their wise and benevolent operation would, if they were universally observed, soon expunge all evil from human life and human nature; and were meant and given to us to do so. It is this want of self-government, which is the source of so much that is annoying and pernicious in every descendant of Adam and Eve. But it was as requisite to them as it is at this moment to ourselves. All laws, and precepts, and instruction, are but words without it. It must produce and therefore precede the obedience which is desired, and the moral conduct on all occasions, which will be so advantageous, and is to

every one so honourable. It was, therefore, a foreseeing act of his divine wisdom, and not less of his philanthropy, that their Creator began his benign education of his new creatures by the mild imposition of one command—only one—whose direct object was, by an easy and daily effect, to lead them gently to the momentous habit of continual self-government; of restraining natural inclination by reason and recollection; of regulating their desires and gratifications, in conformity to rules and tuition; of feeling sensorial excitement, and yet of preventing it from over-ruling their will and from governing their conduct. For this purpose a fruit-tree was placed in those pleasing grounds, which they did not want, and which was but one among innumerable beauties around them; and this they were forbidden to make use of. But being in their sight when they chose to walk near it, they had to exercise the daily habit of forbearing to pluck it: a perseverance in the obedience would have made self-regulation a companion of their existence.

A kinder mode of training them to this prince of all the virtues, without which not one can be steadily practised, could scarcely have been devised. Themselves the only human beings in existence, neither of the six last commands of the decalogue were then applicable to them. They had no parents. They would certainly not murder each other; and nothing of what was forbidden in the remaining four could have been committed by them. The preceding precepts were as unnecessary to them at that time, for they knew, and loved, and venerated their God; and would delight to hallow that day, when his creations had been completed, and their enjoyment of enraptured life had sensibly begun. Gratitude would be their instinctive sensibility, and admiration and adoration their natural ecstasy and intellectual banquet. All they wanted was self-government; but this was indeed every thing. Without this habit every moral perfection, and every noble aspiration, were sure to become a dreamer's vanishing dreams; for they would, in no long time, cease to be the only human beings in existence. Moral laws then would become as necessary when population spread, as they were superfluous to their new-made selves. The only moral regulations they at first required, were the habits of self-government, and making the divine will, as it should be farther communicated, their revered and absolute director.

The simplicity of the command and the lightness of the self-restriction which it required, forcibly display to us the benevolent feeling of their guiding legislator. How could the discipline needed be more gently exercised? What could he have ordered, that would have been easier to be obeyed? Exuberant gratification provided for them in rich luxuriance all around, with full permission to enjoy what they pleased; this one restraint was but an intellectual exercise, of merely that degree of self-command which it was essential they should begin to practise, and of which there could not well be a smaller requisition. But its very utility inevitably involved all the danger of disobedience; for to be serviceable it must be continuous. It required not one forbearance alone, but daily abstinence during daily sight. Yet it could not be otherwise; for this is what the morality of our common life demands, and which therefore must be early learned. From the hour we can use our hands and feet, we see things belonging to others about us, which attract our sight and excite a wish that they were our own. But from all of these every moment we must abstain. We must learn to have always before us what is desirable to us, and yet always forbear to take what is not to be appropriated by us. We have inclinations that we must check—we have desires that we must regulate.

All intellectual life in human beings, or in any other, must be guided by the judgment and by moral principle, and therefore by continual self-restraint and by the proper modifications. How rigidly do we exact it from our domesticated animals; and to the credit of their self-government, and of their acquired habits of obedience, how much self-restraint do they not at least learn to exercise, and become in this respect a pattern to us their instructors!

To the human race self-government, according to appointed rules, to socially exacted observances, or to the due feelings and rights of others, is necessary every hour of our living day. It is not in what concerns property alone, or the use of our hands, or our inclinations and passions; but there are the temper, and the speech, and the behaviour to others, that require unceasing self-guard and watchful regulation, from the want of which, so many evils and so much provocation follow.

These certainties make it expedient that all education should begin with the injunction and practice of self-govern-

ment; and by causing us all to be born as children under parents, it is naturally made to be so. They take care, as long as we are under their direction, that from our cradle until their instructing duty ceases, the habit shall be daily exercised by us; but Adam and Eve had no other parental tutor than their Creator, and it was expedient that they should be practised by him in this fundamental principle: with this view his command was given.

That a tempter added his recommendation to them, to disregard the prohibition they had received, was also but an anticipation of what was certain to occur to every one in usual life; and which, from the beginning, our forefathers, like ourselves, had to learn to bear and to resist. That the injurious consequences which had been threatened would not follow from the disobedience, but that good or pleasure to themselves would be the result, is stated to have been the misleading suggestion; and the same representations to do wrong are perpetually occurring to us all; and what is more dangerous to us than the serpents to them, they occur to us from each other, from fellow-beings, from friends and associates. Whenever a companion of the moment wishes us to do what suits or pleases him, however objectionable we may think it, or it really is, the constant observation from the persuader is, that it will do no harm; that it is not wrong; that no evil will follow from it; that it will be gratifying; that it will be beneficial: whether it be to take liquors or food that we think we ought not, or to join in any scheme or action that we disapprove of, or that is forbidden to us. Such, notwithstanding, are always the urging incitements, by which others seek to induce us to do what they at the moment desire. Every solicitation of this sort is a temptation to us, and is meant to have an inducing effect. Temptations in this shape occur almost every day, and we have always to resist them at every opportunity. Every pleasure is a temptation, and instead of yielding to its persuasion, we must learn to persist in acting as we think or know to be more proper. In this respect, we are all tempters to each other; sometimes fatally so; even with much good meaning. All human beings must therefore be trained to hear a tempter's voice, and to endure his persuasions, without being influenced by them to do what we ought not.

This is a state of things which is inseparable from all ex-

istence that possesses activity, varied powers, intelligence, and self-agency. All beings, angels or men, the highest and the lowest, will always be able to do much which they ought not; and would have temporary pleasure from it, and feel many excitements to it. Self will always be gratified by many things that would not be as agreeable to others. Our self and their self must frequently be in opposition to each other, however perfect both may be. But whatever is pleasurable to us, is a temptation to us to do what will give us the gratification. This will be the same in heaven as in earth—through all the eternity of their being, to every order of intelligence and sensibility, as well as at every present moment. The possibility of doing wrong; the desire of doing what we may like; the momentary gratification that will arise from it; the perception that we should abstain from what is not proper to be done; the temptation of the excitement to it, and of the pleasure which at the time would ensue from it; the habit of enduring this temptation and of withstanding its influence, and the continual self-government which will be necessary to keep inclination, will, judgment, resolution, perseverance, and duty, in harmonious and unrelaxing exercise—these things must accompany all intellectual existence, in every part of the universe, through all time, as we know that they are every day inseparable from our own. Without them, neither our own wellbeing nor that of others can be long conserved. It is awful to mention the Deity himself as being in this state, because we can never think of him with too forbearing veneration; but as far as we ought to allude to such a subject, we may intimate, that none of his creatures have to undergo temptation, or to exert a self-government which he has not every moment to endure and to exercise in himself, in million of millions of times far greater degree; and without the least necessity, for he has no superior. Let us only consider how often our race alone act contrary to his wishes, and yet how he spares and bears with all. Let us remember that he is continually sending his rain, and heat, and sun, and the food, and comfort, and blessings which they produce, to the evil as well as to the good. Let us think how steadily he coerces and regulates his uncontrollable omnipotence—that tremendous power which no one can resist, and none but himself can govern—for the good of all, instead of only to please himself. Let us reflect

what temporary gratifications of various sorts he might derive from capriciously exercising it on his dependant beings ; and from sporting for his own enjoyment with them, as we do with what is at our mercy. Let us recollect the provocations which uncountable millions are every moment giving to him by their misconduct, absurdities, and disobedience ; and we shall feel that his steadiness in resisting the temptations and excitations which he must be undergoing, and the self-government which he must be every moment practising, must be as marvellous, and are really as incomprehensible by us, as any other power and quality of his adorable and indescribable nature. He imposes no precept upon us, of which he does not present to us in his own conduct a magnificent example of spontaneous practice.

Thus we see that our paradisiacal ancestors could not but have to acquire, from the beginning of their beings, this habitual power of withstanding temptation and of continual self-government of their inclinations, wishes, appetites, and powers, and of obeying their Divine Instructor ; they were even in danger of being misled by each other. Each had to attain and practise against the other, the resolution and the ability not to yield to any suasion or influence when the request was improper, the advice erroneous, or the entreaty prejudicial. Love, a beauty and a blessing as it is, would, to them as to us, be as pernicious as a fiend's hatred, without this self-guarding and self-commanding power. How many myriads have been victims even to intending kindness, not purposely misleading, for want of this acquired independence and wisely-resisting power !

These views seem to present to us the rationale of the events in paradise—the leading principles on which they were permitted or appointed to take place.*

* It is a curious fact, that the Mexicans had a tradition of the history of Eve, and a representation of it, in their symbolical paintings. Humboldt thus mentions the circumstance.

In describing the hieroglyphical paintings of the Mexicans in the Borgia Museum, at Veletri, he says, that No. 1, Cod. Borg. fol. 11, represents "the mother of mankind, the serpent woman, *Cihua cohuatl*." Another, No. 2, "the same serpent woman, the Eve of the Mexicans."—Humb. Researches, vol. ii. p. 83, 4.

Of the Codex Vaticanus, he mentions, "the group, No. 2, represents the celebrated serpent woman *Cihua cohuatl*, called also *Quilatzi* or *Tonacacihua*, woman of our flesh. She is the companion of *Tonacateuctli*. The Mexicans considered her as the mother of the human race.

LETTER XIII.

Considerations on the Transgression of Adam and Eve, and on the Divine Plan with respect to that event—Its Results—Thoughts on the Conduct of the Deity towards them and their posterity. 23

THE new-made beings did not attain that self-government nor that docility, without which human existence could not but become a frequent scene of moral evil. Not even their veneration or love for their Creator and Benefactor, was of force sufficient to restrain them from that action and gratification which would be the beginning of it, and the certain cause of more, by disregarding and disobeying his counsels and commands.

The natural inclination to do what they chose, and to have a pleasure within their own easy reach, overcame their resolutions and motives to obey. They plucked, they ate, they sinned, they showed their own weakness and folly. They committed a disobedience which, having once done, they were certain to repeat. I believe they did no more than what every one of their descendants would have done. As far as I can judge and feel of myself, I have no doubt that I should, in that state and stage of human being, have erred in the same manner. I think I have, in many parts of my life, in some respect or other, acted as wrongly, with as strong reasons to do otherwise, and with no greater temptations than they had to resist. I can have, therefore, no doubt, that Adam and Eve, in these incidents, were a fair and full representation of human nature. In "Adam all sinned," because all would have sinned under the same circumstances, and all have ever since sinned in the same manner. Our first parents were not worse than any of their posterity. In them the natural powers and tendencies of their order of being, at its commencement, were fairly tried and put into action. The result corresponded with the cir-

After the god of the celestial Paradise, Omteuctli, she held the first rank among the divinities of Anahuac. We see her always represented with a great serpent."—Humb. ib. vol. i. p. 195. "Their Adam is called Tonacateuctli, or, Lord of our flesh." He is represented in the Codex Borjans, fol. 9.—Humb. ib. 229.

cumstances. It would have been the same if they had been immediately destroyed, and others created instead, to undergo a moral education by the same or by any other devised events. No moral being can start up at once like a mushroom, nor a babe be a man of knowledge and virtue in its cradle. If a thousand new creations of human kind had been made the experiments, in the room of Adam and his beautiful companion, all would have equally proved, by yielding to the temporary inclination in opposition to the prohibition that human nature, in that stage of its being, had not the self-regulating power, nor the spontaneous will, nor the persevering wisdom, to govern its actions by its Creator's commands, nor to restrain itself as its own welfare required; nor would, in a paradise of continual enjoyment, acquire what it was thus deficient in. It was, therefore, of no use to make a new Adam and Eve in their stead. It would be more beneficial for the moral formation of the human race, to effect that gradually which could not be achieved immediately; and therefore that the offending pair should be continued, and that they should be acted upon so that their very sin should, from the consequences which would be attached to it, become an everlasting admonition and instruction to themselves and to mankind. This would make their very transgression, by its painful consequences, a perpetual benefit and friendly Mentor to them. It was, therefore, a part of the divine plan, that although they had transgressed, they should not be immediately destroyed, but be taught and disciplined instead, and thus be made to feel the folly of the disobedience, by an abiding conviction from its painful result. The threatened death was fastened by the disobedience upon them and their race, because human beings that would not be counselled and guided by their God, and would not use self-restraint, were not those whom he meant to make immortal, or who could be so, with lasting happiness to themselves or others. The species of human kind to whom he designed to give an eternity of life and happiness, were to be those only who would, with affectionate and grateful docility, be instructed and governed by him; and who would train themselves to such habits, and moralized mind and will, as such obedience and self-government would produce.

Hence on the day of their disobedience, death began his

dominion in the human world, and became fixed for ever on human nature on this earth, as long as any of Adam's posterity should be upon it. "Sin then entered the world, and death by sin."* On that day he brought mortality upon himself and all; a prospect of an everlasting perpetuity of being had been presented to him, if his obedience had been unflinching. But this wonderful boon, one of the greatest that an eternal Being can give, was not to be the enjoyment of a selfish, vacillating, unsteady, uncertain, ungovernable, or undutiful spirit; it was therefore taken away at that time and on that event from this world, and from all that would here resemble their first parents in fickleness and misconduct, to be connected with and be afterward offered, as a new and special promise of divine benevolence to mankind, by Him who first brought, really and authoritatively, life and immortality to light, in the grand future which he opened to us; and who devoted himself to the most ignominious punishment which human laws then inflicted on the greatest human crime, in order to secure the future paradise and Sabbath to us.†

The continuance of Adam and Eve in a paradise of every sensorial delight, would not be at all likely to increase their

* Romans v. 12.

† I consider vice, crime, and sin to be the three terms which designate immoralities, or wrong actions, according to their relative effects and connexions. Vice is the more personal denomination, as they concern ourselves. We are vicious in practising them, because they bring an individual stain and depreciation and deterioration upon us. CRIME is their appellation as they affect others; as actions which have been denounced and forbidden by social laws and feelings, from their injurious results to others. We are criminal in doing them, in the eye of the established laws, of the appointed tribunals, and of our fellow-beings. But SIN is their peculiar character, as between ourselves and God. It is the brand which is fixed upon them with reference to him, to his moral government, to his sovereignty and honour, and to the wellbeing of his universe. All wrong actions of mankind, or of any other order of reasoning beings, are *sinful* in his sight, because they are always in counteraction to his wishes, plans, and purposes: they are a direct disobedience to him, and therefore a revolt from our natural allegiance to him, and an act of rebellion against him. Sin is therefore always represented as associated with his displeasure; for it is always, in every shape, in some degree or other, a producer of evil, and a cause of its continuance and perpetuity. It is ever invading the welfare and happiness of some part of his living and sentient family, and is always impeding or preventing their improvements. It is these consequences, besides the blot it keeps up in the moral beauty of creation, which have occasioned sin to be characterized as "exceeding sinful."

disposition for self-restraint. Continued enjoyment makes self-indulgence more natural and more dear to us, and fosters an aversion to diminish it, while it weakens the power of foregoing it. It was also certain that no future precept would be regarded in opposition to inclination, if this, the first, and one so solemnly enforced, and with such consequences attached to it, could be disobeyed without any loss of comfort. Man would never be a moral being, if he could be immoral with impunity. The very best need the check of recollecting, that to indulge inclination against right and duty, involves painful consequences. Present experience is everywhere exemplifying this truth. Sound reasoning confirms it, and no wise being would desire to forget it.

It was therefore necessary to change the human abode into a less pleasurable and more educating state. It was important to the improvement of the founders of mankind, that they should learn, and their descendants know, that if they would not or could not submit to the regulations, or practise the self-government so requisite, they must be assisted to gain the habit of the right conduct, by finding the want of it to be displeasing to their Maker, and prejudicial to themselves. A removal from the garden of delight to the more common world, in which their posterity were meant to live, was, for its tutoring effect, made the first result of their deliberate error.

Here they found a very different natural state and scenery of things. Spontaneous produce without toil or care no longer appeared. Plenty was no more to spring gratuitously from the earth. Man was decreed to obtain his subsistence by his manual labour.* Industry and exertion were made the future authors of comfort and gratification to him. Self-indulgence was to be purchased by previous privations. The remembrance of the loss of a happy state ; toiling activity ; anxiety for its success ; difficulties and disappointments ; occasional grief and sorrows,—were appointed to attend human life during its future stages, as admonishing memorials of the folly and error of not obeying the declared laws of the Creator, and of the painful results of preferring self-gratification to self-government, self-will to obedience, and self-indulgence to moral self-regulation. The paradise showed how he could

* Genesis iii. 17-19.

reward, and that he was desirous of doing so. The removal from it was evidence as impressive that he can take away what he gives, whenever he thinks proper; and that therefore his favour is always to be sought for, and never to be undervalued or neglected. No human sources of what is pleasurable or profitable, can equal the blessings which his approbation and bounty can at any time confer. To him, then, the human eye should be turned, for every good which the human heart can rationally desire.

There is no reason to doubt that the misconduct of Adam and Eve was foreseen by their Creator; nor could the certainty that if they, in the perfection of their first creation, would so err, all their posterity issuing from them would commit similar deviations, be absent from his omniscience. When he devised and resolved upon having in his universe the human order of beings, we may be quite sure that he took the largest views of all the consequences and probabilities that would result from his new creation. What we should do ourselves in our petty concerns—what we actually do in all our undertakings, as far as our little foresight can be exerted,—we may be sure that the benevolence and wisdom, as well as the prescient power of the Almighty, would lead him to perform. He anticipated the events which took place, and yet chose to begin his human race with them, because it was best and wisest for him to do so, if such a kind of beings, on such an earth, were to be called into existence at all. But as it would be also perceptible to him that no other Adam and Eve, no other first-created parents of a human race, would then act otherwise it was useless to annihilate them, unless he abandoned his design of having any human beings at all. There appears to have been no alternative between expunging such an admirable form of intelligent existence as human nature, with all its faults, still shows itself to be, out of his creation, or permitting the offending creatures to continue in being, allowing creatures of the same kind as offending to issue from them, and adopting a capacious and far-extending plan of producing that perfection in their nature, by a progressive process, in a due series of revolving time, which could not be effected by any instantaneous operations. A word, a single thought, would have banished human nature from his universe for ever; but he did not create in order to annihilate. His gracious

mind, ever contemplating the prospective eternity, while it foresaw the sin of Adam, and of generations after generations of his descendants, discerned also that they could be put under a fitly devised succession of states and circumstances, which, amid all their transgressions and errors, would still be working out an increasing melioration in every new succeeding race. He knew that a divine economy of means and agencies, and of remedial efficacy, could be also introduced among them, by whose concurring operation human nature would, at last, be brought into that general improvement and individual regeneration, which in its latest generations in this world, and in due selection from those which should precede, before the whole species would be so benefited, would accomplish all his wishes, in that completed formation of an order of beings, which has manifestly been a favourite conception of his divine intelligence. A process to effectuate this grand result has been in operation from the first appearance of Adam in conscious life. The brief residence in Eden was its commencement. The command, the transgression, and the removal, were its next operations; and all that has since ensued in human history has been additional evolutions of it, as it shall be our endeavour, though most insufficiently and imperfectly, yet in some measure to illustrate.

Let me entreat you to take these suggestions into consideration, and to permit me, at the hazard of being tedious, to add a few other remarks, though as succinctly as possible, to elucidate a little more the events which we are reviewing.

In conducting his dealings with his human creatures, we may be sure that the Deity would choose that plan which would most suit their wellbeing and his own gracious design in their formation. Whatever this was, if we speculate farther on that subject, we may observe that, to our reason, three general systems appear to have been possible, on either of which he might have founded his relations with us, but of which I, as one of the interested human beings, should most desire that he would adopt the last, and rejoice that he has done so.

He might have resolved to overrule and force all their motives and actions into compelled conformity to his will; and by substituting his power for their self-agency and spon-

taneous conduct, become himself the virtual and continual mover of all their faculties and actions—Or,

He might have left them wholly to themselves, and to their own natural faculties, and functions, and inclinations, and to every casual impulse and excitation, with perfect license to every one to do what he or she individually and at any moment should please, without any notice or control from him, and without any tuition, interference, counsel, or command—Or,

He might prefer to unite the benefits of both of the above alternatives, omitting their disadvantages; on this plan he would leave his human race generally, and for the most part, to the nature he had given them, and to the effect of the circumstances and external agencies amid which he had placed them. But with their natural power and liberty to act as free-willing beings, and to use their own power and faculties as they chose; he would also subject them to the moral obligation of receiving his advice and precepts for the right regulation of their conduct; and he would resolve to impart to them at all times such additional aid and intellectual suggestions and influences as they would admit, in order to guide their judgment, form their moral sense, assist the right action of their spontaneous will, enlighten their ignorance, and fortify every good will and resolution.

Of these three possible schemes, the first would never have formed a human being. It would have suspended or annihilated the action of the human soul, and have made its existence useless and superfluous. Man would then have been a mere framework of bony and fleshly mechanism, moved by God. It would have been the Deity using the limbs and faculties of his creature, and acting in them instead of man himself; but for this purpose a tree might have been so animated, or any quadruped that grazes or ruminates about us.

The second plan would have abandoned man to his animal nature, under which, from the total ignorance in which he would have begun his existence; from the slowness with which knowledge comes to every one from his own experience; from the absence of all superior tuition; from the inefficacy of any tuition without personal experience; from his powers of immediate action, and from the great excitability and activity of his mind and passions—man could not

fail to become a selfish, violent, wilful, sensual, envying, evil-doing, contending, mischievous, and miserable creature. All beings of great energy, and powers, and activities, without adequate knowledge, and tuition, and self-government, and moralized mind, could not, from the very natural effect of their impulses and qualities, be otherwise. We must all feel that this would be the case with ourselves, if every restraint on our self-will and inclinations, and all the effects of our better habits and education were abstracted from us ; if all laws, government, magistracy, tuition, and authority were to cease. Great bodily limitations of powers, and an enfeebling inferiority of mind, keep the animal races constantly confined to their small circle of actions. But man's superior frame, which admits him to execute all the purposes of his will, his vivacious spirit, and his excitable activities would soon cause and enable him to be and do all that he ought not, and to become a formidable creature, inflicting evil on others, and suffering from it himself. Hence the third alternative seems to be that which wisdom and benevolence would be led to adopt, and which every rational being would desire. It is that under which we have been appointed to live.

But on this plan, man becomes liable to erroneous mind and conduct, and will certainly deviate into them, unless and until he seek and act constantly in unison with the counsels and commands of a superior instructor. The probability is that he will be a medley of both ; now obeying his better guide, and now yielding to his contrary inclinations. Moral at one time, transgressing at another ; erring and repenting ; sinning and suffering. Nothing can prevent his being this inconsistent compound of right and wrong conduct, but that uniform obedience which he will not adhere to, and that constant self-control which, though in many things he is always laudably exerting, yet which he is also as frequently at least, and often more so, relaxing or refusing.

Thus we perceive that there was no alternative between letting man be what he has been, or relinquishing the intention of having such a being in creation.

Yet for a race of creatures to be disobedient and offending, and to be continued as such in a moral universe, and under the moral governance of an Almighty Sovereign, who is himself pre-eminently a moral being ; how is this reconcilable with the divine consistency, with the perfections

and wisdom of the divine nature, with its aversion to all that is sinful and evil, and with its desire that there should be no absurdity, no error, no immorality, and no unhappiness in his creation?

The elucidation of this difficulty expands before us the grand scheme of his selected and adopted economy of things, as to his human race, which may be intimated in a few words. He perceived that they could be made improvable beings; that human nature was capable of moral and intellectual progression; that a system might be established for its perpetual advancement by periods and generations; that the race could be thus put under a process of perpetual melioration, and ever-enlarging formation; that the later generations could be led to improvements, of which the earlier would be incapable; and thus, by a succession of gradual advancement, what could not be produced in the anterior stages would be accomplished in the last: and man would thus ultimately become that distinguished order of moral and intellectual being, which would bring him into a divine resemblance to his Creator, and place him at this consummation of his progression, in the highest ranks of intelligent and celestial existence.

The history of human nature on this plan would be, and is, the history of the different stages of the progression through which it has passed. Each great period of it would be, and has been, one of the more important steps of the evolving process; and all the principal epochas of past time will mark the successive stages through which mankind have hitherto proceeded. The principles that can be discerned to have severally produced them, will lead us to that delineation of their providential causation and its effects, which will form the SACRED HISTORY of the human world.

The first stage was the creation of man, and his abode in Paradise. The second was his removal from it; a removal, which, while it displayed the divine resolution to make pain and disappointment the companion and consequence of wilful disobedience, and to mark such conduct as most offensive sin, was yet conducted in the kindest manner that was consistent with the admonitory infliction; and it was equally directed to promote their future improvement.

The spirit of divine philanthropy in which the first changes of the life and destiny of man were effected, with a view to

his amelioration and benefit, displays itself at once to our perception, if, abstracted from all theories and prepossessions, we calmly contemplate what was so mildly and deliberately done.

It was essential to their welfare, to their own moral formation, and to the future improvement of the race which was to issue from them, that the disobeyed Legislator should stamp the disobedience with the character of sin ; should mark it, decisively and permanently, as a conduct to which, whenever it should occur, his disapprobation and condemnation would and must be attached. This was the inevitable necessity imposed upon him, as the moral sovereign, guide, teacher, and lawgiver of his new-made beings. The unborn posterity who were to arise successively from them, made this procedure on his part indispensable to their wellbeing, that they might certainly know what they were to avoid and do, and what license they might take or must shun. But he executed this painful necessity with a wonderful mixture of mercy, forbearance, and benignity. He did not dart the vindictive lightning to stretch them lifeless on the plain. He did not shake the earth to engulf them in its chasms. He did not come in storm, and darkness, and appalling thunder, with all the fearful majesty of insulted power, to chastise the defying, and exterminate the rebelling. He neither terrified, or agonized, or annihilated. He acted on this occasion as he does on every other, as the God of love, of benevolence, and of pity, even while he paternally chastises. We are accustomed to regard his dealings on this occasion too exclusively as a punishment, and, erroneously, as a vindictive operation. It was indeed to their feelings a punishment, and it was meant to have this impression upon them, that it might have its full beneficial result ; for unless they had conceived and felt it to be so, the moral lesson of it would be lost ; but it was also an effective part of his ameliorating process ; and it began the second stage and period of their appointed progression for the express purpose of advancing it, and of conferring benefit while it unavoidably inflicted pain.

His benign feelings towards them were immediately displayed, by the suspended execution of the very death which he had threatened.

He did not extinguish their being on the instant of their

transgression, or at his judicial appearance. They did not personally die on the day or at the time in which they had offended, though they then made themselves subject to the penalty. On the contrary, although death then became attached to human nature in this world, he postponed this termination of Adam's life for nine hundred and thirty years,* or, as the term was extended in one of his descendants, still nearer to a thousand years;† a period of duration which we may justly call a little immortality, if the grammatical catachresis could be allowed. A thousand years of existence would, I think, be considered, both by you and me, as an immortality in miniature.

Whatever we may choose to name it, still it was a positive benefaction conferred upon our offending forefather, instead of the immediate death which he might have expected from his transgression. It will be an injustice to the Deity not to consider it as an act and as a donation of the most paternal philanthropy, in the very moment of his highest displeasure.

But such a Creator as ours looks at the misconduct of his creatures more in sorrow than in anger. He does, on such occasions, whatever he deems necessary for the maintenance of his government; for the repression of such offences; for the prevention and extinction of confirmed sin; for the subjection of rebelling mind; and for the general benefit of his creatures, however he may regret the infliction which he is compelled, for these reasons, to impose. Goodness and wisdom alike require that what is best and right should always be done; and pre-eminently so by Him who is pre-eminent over all, as well as by us, his earthly subjects; but we may be sure that the pain and evil which we thus draw upon ourselves are most unwillingly, on his part, introduced upon us; and that every effort to make them unnecessary, and to avert them from us, is previously made before the corrective or deterring suffering is imparted to us.‡

* Genesis v. 5.

† "All the days of Methuselah were 969 years."—Gen. v. 27.

‡ The unwillingness of the Deity to exercise his painful visitations on mankind, and his earnest desire that they should make it unnecessary, and therefore avert it, by changing that conduct which he *condemns*, and cannot allow to continue, are repeatedly displayed to us in his name and on his authority. Some of the most emphatic series of declarations to this effect are contained in the prophecies of Ezekiel:

He changed the system of human subsistence, from that of an exuberant garden of spontaneous produce, presenting the most pleasing food to man, without uncertainty or labour, into a course of things analogous to that which we now experience. By this the gratuitous supply of nature, which most nations attach to their golden age, ceased to be the general law of the vegetable kingdom. Sufficient produce for human food was made dependant on human industry. The ground required cultivation, in order to be fertile in the harvests which a multiplying population would need. Where due attention to husbandry was not exerted, thorns and thistles, weeds and vegetation, uneatable, or undesired by mankind, would grow up, instead of the roots and grains that would be deemed most palatable and nutritious. This was the only sentence passed upon Adam, and it was clearly a personal benefit, as well as an admonition

"Say unto them, saith the Lord God, I have no pleasure in the death of the wicked ; but that the wicked turn from his way and live. Turn, ye ! Turn ye from your evil ways. For *why will ye die*, O house of Israel !"—xxxiii. 11.

—"When I say unto the wicked, Thou shalt surely die ; if he turn from his sin, and do that which is lawful and right ; if the wicked restore the pledge ; give again that he had robbed, walk in the statutes of life, without committing iniquity ; he shall surely live, he shall not die. None of his sins that he hath committed shall be mentioned unto him : he hath done that which is lawful and right : he shall surely live. Yet the children of thy people say, The way of the Lord is not equal."—xxxiii. 14-17.

The same principle of the divine administration is again repeated :

"When the righteous turneth from his righteousness, and committeth iniquity, he shall even die thereby. But if the wicked turn from his wickedness, and do that which is lawful and right, he shall live thereby. Yet ye say, The way of the Lord is not equal."—xxxiii. 19-20.

The same just and kind ideas were uttered in another effusion :

"Have I any pleasure at all that the wicked should die ? saith the Lord God : and not that he should return from his ways and live ?"—xviii. 23.

"When the wicked man turneth away from his wickedness that he hath committed, and doeth that which is lawful and right, he shall save his soul alive. Because he considereth, and turneth away from all his transgressions that he hath committed, he shall surely live, he shall not die."—xviii. 27, 28.

This solemn and benevolent effusion was closed in these impressive repetitions :

"Repent.—Cast away from you all your transgressions, whereby ye have transgressed ; and make you a new heart and a new spirit : for *why will ye die*, O house of Israel ! For I have no pleasure in the death of him that dieth, saith the Lord God : wherefore turn yourselves, and live ye."—xvii. 30-2.

and an instrument of moral discipline. The loss of the beauties and of the rich luxuriance of a paradise of nature ; the change from the state of a sovereign lord, fed by the bountiful productions streaming around him, inviting him to their ready and abundant banquet, into the condition of a husbandman who must toil for his subsistence, and be dependant on the degree of his own skill, industry, and care, and on the elemental favours ; these new circumstances were an unceasing lesson to himself and to his posterity, of the error and folly of not living in obedience to God, and in grateful docility to him. But at the same time this humiliation, and the mortifying remembrances that would be ever arising from it, were highly serviceable to the formation of a moral and nobler character within him. They provided him with an employment for his daily time, and for the activities of his frame and spirit, which is always a pleasure, if it be not immoderate. He was far more certain of becoming a superior being out of Paradise than he could have then been in one. Our present experience satisfies us of this truth. Wherever we find, as in some regions of the tropic zone, that the abundance of nature is so lavish, and the human population in the locality so small, that they have all the effects of a spontaneous produce around them, and have only to pluck and to eat without toil or care ; there the human creature is an inferior being ; his labour not being necessary to his subsistence, he dislikes all work, and passes his day in the indolence, the sensuality, and the stupidity of the swinish animal, or is only more active to be more mischievous and unhappy. Man, in voluptuous sloth, is a degraded animal, and it is only that industry, those energies, and that inventive activity, which this appointed system of his labour being necessary to his subsistence compels and has created, that have led him to all the arts and manufactures which distinguish civilized life, and to the genius, the talent, and the ennobling qualities and actions by which human nature has been adorned.

The truth is, that the continuity of a paradise of pleasure is not the best first state for the human being, though it will be his fittest and felicitating ulterior one. Man must be first trained and formed under a different system of things, that will call out, and fashion, and exercise all the excellence and improvableties of his wonderful capacity, into the great moral

and intellectual being which he can be educated to be ; and then, when his tuition is completed, and all his grand and lovely capabilities have been produced and established efficiently within him, and his primeval nature has thus become transformed and cultivated into a richer and nobler one—then a paradise will be, not his perversion, but his reward, and become to him a scene of godlike activities, of divine assimilation, and of proportionate felicity.

Our gracious Creator foresaw all these truths, but placed man at first in the garden of Eden, that it might become fixed in the memory of his human race, that perfect happiness was the appointed companion of perfect obedience to him ; that human existence had begun with the enjoyment of this felicity, on this condition ; and that the same paradisiacal state is only attainable again by the same means, and on the same principle. But being then unsuitable to man, in the unformed state of his primeval mind, he was removed from it into that mixed condition of nature, into that necessity of exertion, and that excitement to it, under which he has been ever since subsisting.

Very few circumstances have been transmitted to us of this second state of man, but it seems to have been a mixture of agricultural and pastoral life in its simplest state. The clothing of Adam and Eve was merely that of skins, a mode of dress which some of the northern Indians still use, and even the Wallachian peasantry. This is an important intimation in one respect, as it implies that the new abode of our first parents was of a different and colder temperature than that of Eden. It indicates a transfer from a torrid to a temperate zone, as for this an apparel of skins was best adapted. "Abel was a keeper of sheep, but Cain was a tiller of the ground."* Thus Adam brought up his children to the several occupations of husbandry, and of domesticating the mildest class of the useful animals. Cain settled his family in that collected state which constitutes a town:† but it was not till the sixth generation after him that any of the arts began to be cultivated, and these first appeared among the children of his descendant Lamech. One of these began the Arab and Tartar style of living in tents

* Genesis iv. 2.

† "And he builded a city, and called the name of the city, after the name of his son, Enoch."—Gen. iv. 17.

and breeding cattle, so that this form of human society began before the flood : * another invented the harp and the organ, or commenced the production and cultivation of the music of sound : † another became an artificer in brass and iron, and thereby indicates that he had found out a process for smelting metallic ores, and working them into serviceable instruments. ‡ These are all the notices we have of the occupations of the antediluvian race. One portion of it was for some time more virtuous and religious than the other ; but intermingling by marriages, § the morality of all diminished : and by the time that Noah had attained his five hundredth year, violence and voluptuousness had become the general habit of society, and characterized its individual life. || The corruption was so universal as to be incurable. The same cause brought on the same effect. Disregard of the laws of God, and disobedience to him, produced, as their natural consequence, vice and evil, and destroyed human happiness. Mutual warfare and depredation on the one hand, and personal depravity on the other, made human life a scene of misery, and degraded and spoiled human nature itself. The plans and wishes of the Deity for the benefit and improvement of his human creatures, were thus again defeated by their rebellion and perversity. The blessings which he had caused the material course of nature which then prevailed to impart to them, had only made them more self-elated and contumacious. His gift of longevity had thus been abused into more powerful means of mischief and debasement : and he resolved to terminate this condition of human nature by the extinction of its deteriorated population ; and to renew it under an altered system of nature, and under new circumstances of its existence, which would constitute its third state, and which is that in which it has ever since continued, and is now subsisting. This revolution would be another monitory instance, that human happiness and obedience to God are inseparably linked together,

* " Adah bare Jabal : he was the father of such as dwell in tents, and of such as have cattle."—Gen. iv. 20.

† " His brother's name was Jubal : he was the father of all such as handle the harp and organ."—Ib. 21.

‡ " Zillah bare Tubal-cain, an instructor of every artificer in brass and iron."—Ib. 22.

§ Genesis vi. 2.

|| Genesis vi. 5, 11–13.

and that man cannot live in the habit of disobedience to the divine laws, without perpetually producing moral evil and personal suffering. A deluge of waters that should overwhelm all that was living, was the chosen instrument of effecting this awful dispensation.

LETTER XIV.

Farther Reflections on the Conduct of our First Parents, and its Natural Causes : and on the Nature and Effect of the Process carried on for the Improvement of Human Nature, and its Ulterior Completion.

THE surprise and censures of many have been excited by our first parents, acting as they did, and occasioning thereby the loss of a paradise to all their posterity ; but in justice to them we must recollect, that it is most probable that every one of the descendants who blame them, would, in their situation have acted no better ; and that if any other human beings of former ages, or any even of ourselves, were to be placed and circumstanced as they were, the same conduct and results would ensue. We ground this conclusion on the observed fact in daily life, that every one who has sprung from them, often imitates their error by sinning against better knowledge and better resolutions, and even right intentions. That hell is paved with good intentions, was the strong figurative expression of one of our most distinguished moralists ; and the universal application of the remark to every age and individual, is as undeniable as its truth. If the good intention were sufficient, if to mean well were the same as to do well, or would necessarily and most certainly produce the corresponding action, there would be little vice or error in the world ; but it is because we do not carry the good intention into the actual practice ; it is because we feel and know what is right and proper, and most usually wish and mean to do it, but yet do not put the becoming purpose into execution, but repeatedly deviate from the good intention and even resolution, into the action and indulgence which is contrary to it, that we ourselves so often misconduct our life ; and that immorality, crime, sin, and

suffering, are so intermingled and so prolonged among mankind. It is because we do not individually exert and direct our self-agency, to restrain us from the wrong practice, that both moral and natural evil so much pervade society still, and have been such adhering residents among us.

But if we, if the present race, the last of all the generations that have been living through almost sixty centuries, are still in this predicament, still acting with this unreasonableness and weakness; if we, with all the corrective and admonishing benefit of so much experience, are yet so infirm of purpose, and so defective in self-government, ought we to press the deficiency so hardly against our similarly acting predecessors?—or, omit to perceive both the justice and the necessity of our divine Author's having put human life into that state of discipline which alone has kept it so tolerable: which has prevented so much greater deterioration that would have ensued without it; and which has already led it to so many improvements, that would have been thought impossible by any of the contemporaries of either Adam or Noah, or even of Socrates and Cicero? Much, indeed, remains yet to do. Sighing for ourselves and others, we must all, with self-humbling sincerity, admit this truth; but let us also be candid as to ourselves, and just to our Maker's wisdom and effectively chosen measures. Much has been already accomplished in the meliorating process; his plans and means are achieving grand effects. He has exalted his human being into ennobling improvements. He has thus far largely, variously, and beautifully regenerated his human nature into new features, to a new heart, and with a new spirit. Both the moral and the intellectual aspects of the world have now a more sunny appearance than ever, amid all its shades and deformities. The soul of man is visibly a new being already, compared with what it has been, and it is perceptibly on the advance. The rectifying agencies have never been so active or so successful, as they are at this moment; nor is there any chance that the improving energies will diminish. Vast impulses too have become active, and are struggling for superiority. But a new creating spirit has also sprung everywhere into life, and is pursuing and repressing whatever actuates to mislead. The hand of our Maker is upon mankind; and what he has excited or is watching, he will guide, guard, teach, and in due time, and

with all his fine and diversified complication of impulses, restraints, suggestions, aids, disciplines, and government, will conduct to the grand issues that he means to educe from it.

We find moral evil existing around us, as we grow up into observation and judgment. It must then have originated from those who preceded us. Our ancestors have therefore both committed and transmitted it. As far as we can carry up our inquiry, history presents the same defects and stains in the conduct of our species. It must then have begun from some portion of our predecessors, in the very earliest stages of human existence, because mankind, in no part of antiquity, appear without it; of its origin we have only one account. The singularity of this soleness is a strong indication of the veracity of its information; it is what no one was likely to have invented, and it comes to us with this recommendation to our belief, independently of the authority of the memorial record which contains it, that if we reject this account of its commencement, we have no other. It is this narrative which rescues us from utter ignorance of that which we are so deeply interested, so vitally concerned, truly to know. It will always deserve our profoundest meditation.

There are some peculiar facts connected with Adam and Eve, which make it more likely that they should have erred than even ourselves. We possess the accumulated experience, for many ages, of the folly and mischief of vicious actions, and of disobedience to God; and yet this is found insufficient to deter the myriads and millions who disregard it. Our first parents had no such result before them; all was new and untried at their period of existence. No suffering had occurred to tell them what pain was, or by its occurring from immoral or offending conduct, to admonish them against the conduct which would bring it upon them. A few other important particulars may be here also recollected.

Adam and Eve, although the ancestors of all human beings, were not in many very important points such human beings as we are, or as all their posterity have been. They were made, and not born. They were made at once full formed, and did not grow, as all their descendants have done, from the babe to the child, the child to the youth, and thence to the mature human being. They had no parent,

and no parental example, instruction, or guidance. They were complete in body, beauteous, and full of functional life and its activities; but they were vacant in mind, totally ignorant, untrained in moral conduct, and unacquainted with any harm or evil that made self-regulation desirable, or had led them to practise it. Cain and Abel were the first human beings that were born in an infant state, from parents, and trained under parental feelings, and control, and direction. They were the first children; the first that from a baby state grew into manhood. They were, as such, far more like what we are, than Adam or Eve, or any first created ancestor could be.

Reasoning upon the laws of our present nature, we may surmise that Adam and Eve could not be of themselves, and in their own free agency, moral beings, until they had been educated to be so: and before any education could have such a result, they must be imperfect in that self-regulation, which constitutes moral conduct. It was to begin their moral formation, to lead them to be moral beings, making what was right to be done their steady principle of action, and therefore the laws of their Creator as teaching this, the rules of their conduct, and his counsels as the foundation of their judgment, that the first precept was imposed. This command could only commence the process of their moral discipline, and having to obey it, before they had acquired the self-government that would alone observe it, and which it was meant to begin, they violated the injunction: and by so doing, and by suffering from the misconduct, they attained the perception of the necessity of self-regulation, and began the first stage of their moral constitution.

We, their descendants, first become moral beings, such as in the earliest stage we are; we first acquire the moral habits that arise within us by imperceptible degrees, under the care, restrictions, tuition, sensibilities, and example of those under whom we grow up. Before we are able to employ our limbs and faculties, we learn, by our own perceptions, how we are to use them, or we are taught the proper application of them by the very exercise, and its effects. Our powers do not come to our own knowledge, but amid circumstances which bring the regulating or instructing modifications with them. We have this advantage beyond the first formed human creatures. Let us suppose for an instant

that a full-grown man arises up from the ground before us, complete in strength and vigour. How certainly, when he began to act on the natural excitations and attractions that would occur to him, would he oftener obey the inclinations and feelings of which he was conscious, than any precept or advice which would urge him to restrain them. He would need as much tuition and government as a baby, but be far less docile and submitting. Supernatural compulsion could compel him to any actions; but these would, in that case, not be his own, but the actions of the agency which was mechanically affecting him. Left to his own will, for want of moral training he could not but act immorally, until he had acquired the knowledge and habits which it produces. This he would be always averse to receiving; and he would not, until after many deviations, and much suffering from their consequences, begin to act steadily, with a reasoning self-command, and a rightly-directed spontaneous will.

But you may ask, Was not man made perfect at his creation?—Most certainly; that is, perfect in all things in which he could then have perfection; perfect in form, in strength, in activities, and in beauty; perfect in all his natural faculties of mind, in all his functions of body, in his intellectual and nervous sensibilities; perfect in every endowment, talent, and capability of his appointed nature. Poetry cannot describe him too richly; fancy cannot conceive him too admirable; nor eloquence transcend the truth of his realities by her most splendid panegyric.

All this we may assume—all this we may readily grant. But collaterally with this it will be as just and true to add, that he could not then be perfect in such things, in which perfection was at that period of his being naturally impossible. He could not, at his creation, be perfect in knowledge, because he would have it all to acquire, and must begin his earthly existence without any. Knowledge is an acquisition which must be successively and gradually attained, and which never can be completed, because creation is so immensely multifarious, and its substances are so infinitely numerous in all the order of being which it embraces, that even an immortality of existence will not exhaust what is knowable within them. Adam must therefore have begun his earthly being with the ignorance of his own babes, and could only acquire knowledge in proportion as he applied himself to gain it.

In like manner, whatever can be attained only by time, by practice, by habit, and by experience, Adam could not possess until he did thus acquire them. The effect can never precede the cause. Moral wisdom and intellectual judgment; self-government; the perception of what would be right and wrong in human conduct; the effects of his own actions; the effects of the varied objects and agencies of external nature upon him; the consequences of his conduct to others; the good or evil that would follow the gratifications he indulged in, and the rules by which he must regulate his desires and enjoyments, to make pleasure continuous, and to prevent pain from resulting or intermingling; these things could not be connate with beginning life. These must be subsequent attainments.

In all these things—in all that constitutes a moral being, and that in due course of time educates us to be such, Adam must have been in himself as imperfect as any of his descendants; he had on these points as much to learn as ourselves. He was therefore as perfect a natural man as he was necessarily an imperfect one—as he was without knowledge and experience; for though natural perfection may be at once created in us by a benevolent Omnipotence, whom all material elements implicitly and passively obey, yet the moral perfection of a being of spontaneous will must always be, in every one, a gradual acquisition of the all-capable, but all-ignorant soul; which it can only attain by living in some life, and which in that must always be a progressive attainment. In order to acquire it, the soul must be instructed, guided, and exercised in a long series of actions, thoughts, feelings, and habits; and to profit from these, it must submit to the tuition and discipline which will produce it; and must be willing to be taught, and be desirous to profit from the forming tutorage. For it is only in proportion as she spontaneously exerts herself to obtain the moral improvement of which she is so capable, that she will become a moral being.

This process will require constant self-vigilance, self-regulation, restraint of appetite, subjection of will to reason and duty, and a persevering resolution to avoid all that is inconsistent with the progression. Moral perfection could not, therefore, be an accompaniment of natural perfection at the commencement of human existence, however transcendent

might have been the capacity for attaining it. The perfect natural man had to begin his course of earthly life much like any of his descendants. Every day would bring its own impressions to his senses, and its own circumstances for him to act on ; and every day it would have to be seen how, in these, he would use his perfect powers and faculties, and how he would conduct himself amid the sensations and impulses that he would receive, and with desires, emotions, and inclinations that would be every moment arising within him. His natural perfections would make his sensations more exquisitely pleasurable to him, but, therefore, more powerful and impressive. His gratifications would be more intense, but his love of them more impetuous. Self-government would be unpalatable and more difficult, and more undesirable to him, in proportion as it became more necessary. Tuition would be less welcomed, because its object would be regulation and restraint. The will would be always allying itself to the enjoyment, and all opposing government would be a resisted intruder. It would come to diminish pleasure, and thereby to introduce pain ; and until greater pain was found to arise from doing it, the regulation would not be willingly attended to.

Thus moral improvement can only be progressive in every one, and a process of gradual increase in every following generation ; and its larger and more diffused proportions require an adequate succession of time, before they can be established in all classes of human nature. Hence, all new-made beings must be at first an experiment of what they will be, if spontaneity of will and freedom of voluntary action be a part of their nature. They cannot themselves tell how they will act till the occasion occurs ; they can plan and resolve beforehand, but how they will execute what they mean, must remain uncertain till the experiment has taken place. Passive things which have no will, and which cannot, therefore, have any contrariety of will to their Maker's intentions, and which will not act otherwise than he wishes, because having no power of action of their own, they can act only as he empowers or impels ; such things can be perfectly mechanized, and all their movements fully ascertained and undeviatingly settled, according to their natural qualities. The human architect knows, with positive certainty, what wood and iron will do before he uses them ; and he so shapes

and places them according to their natural qualities, that they perform exactly the operations and results which he intends and proposes them for, and no other; material fabrics can, therefore, be made with unerring precision, and for an abiding permanence. Our Gothic cathedrals are instances of the length of duration for which we can construct edifices, and of every part steadily performing its designed and foreseen office.

But if a spontaneous will and free agency were to be introduced into the different members of these structures, all would begin to break up and separate, and each portion to diverge according to its own properties and fancies. All these, acting as they should choose as long as the self-willing powers continued, no person could foresee where each would move to or what it would effect. Hence all creations of beings with a spontaneous volition, could not but be an experiment how they would use it, and what, under their capacities of action, they would do with it. The omniscient Maker unquestionably anticipated such an effect, and foreknew that it would take place, as he also foresaw that with such qualities his human beings would act in opposition to his declared will. He perceived that it would require a train of moral discipline and moral education to lead such beings into the knowledge, disposition, resolution, and habit of using their spontaneous will exactly, and at all times as they ought; and he created them on this principle. He foresaw that this result could be accomplished at all times in some degree, and more and more largely in the succeeding generations than in the earlier; because increase of the knowledge of what ought to be done, and continuing experience and conviction of the evil of omitting the right conduct, and of the benefit and comfort which self-restraint, for the sake of rectitude, would always produce, together with the augmentation of the practice and habit of thus acting, must improve the moral will and power in man as time went on, and as human transactions became more multifarious and more disciplining, and as the reasoning mind became more cultivated. But as it is manifest to us, we may assume that his omniscience equally perceived that perfect rectitude of conduct in all would require, in every individual, perfection of knowledge and perfection of judgment, as well as a constant rightness of will and desire, so that on every occasion of all sorts

that might occur, each might act invariably always as he ought. But the very statement of such a result exhibits the difficulty of producing it, and the great lapse of time which must ensue before it could be realized in so many millions of human beings as now constitute the human race. It was at their outset, as it now is, certain, that human beings of this completed nature could only be the ulterior and consummated production of many ages of augmenting knowledge, of continually enlarging experience, and of exercised habit, so spacious and ample as to be co-extensive with the demands and incidents of a continued state of being.

We can judge of the time required, if we survey and consider our present acquisitions and condition. It was remarked in a note to our first chapter, that it has taken 5000 years to bring our astronomical knowledge to its present height; but this is nothing peculiar to astronomy. The same time has been required and taken to enlarge every one of our sciences—to improve every one of the human arts—to advance every one of our manufactures, to their present admirable magnitude and eminence. It has, therefore, taken all the time which has flowed on from our creation to the present moment, to expand, and elevate, and enrich, and improve the human mind, both generally and individually, to the wonderful powers, attainments, and productibilities which now distinguish it. We can see this strikingly in our mechanical and intellectual operations. It is not so patent to our senses and perception in our moral nature, constitution, and practice. But we may be sure that the same remark is true as to these. There never was such a period of moral mind, such beauties and activities, such abundance of good actions, right feelings, and moral thoughts and wishes, as now are in the world; plenty of individual vices and errors also, I grant. But even the sinning individual has more good about him, and in his conduct, than the same state and amount of transgression united with it, at any earlier period. I am, therefore, satisfied that the moral and religious mind and nature of man have, thus far, as much improved as his scientific and intellectual capacities have avowedly advanced.

Thus, then, the process has so far worked successfully. It has quietly but steadily effected its assigned operations, and it is still going on, and, I believe, with victorious efficiency. There are few now living but must feel in themselves the

improvement of their moral selves, and therefore of their moral nature, since they became conscious of what was right and what was wrong. The mind must be debilitated or unhinged in any one, before it can desire to be deteriorated, or to become inferior to itself. We all wish and seek to be thought to be what we ought to be, and not to be deemed deficient, or unworthy, or inferior. We love to stand high in each other's opinion, and to do so we must strive to be what will bring the approbation to us, and therefore to aim and rise to what is deemed the best in our living day. Hence, as society improves, every individual must improve, more or less, with it; and thus the appointed process is continually working to urge every new generation to a greater, and wider, and ampler moral excellence, than the level of its predecessors.

Human existence has thus been a vast process of moral and intellectual formation, steadily evolving at every stage its appointed result, and always enlarging the progression, either in numbers or degrees, and most usually in both respects. The grand ultimate result, the successive advances, the ever-multiplying produce, and the means to effect it, and to surmount and avert the impending counteractions, which the contrarieties of millions of opposing wills would be always presenting, would be at the commencement, and always afterward, in the contemplation of the Almighty Director. He planned and provided, and has been supplying, supporting, and assisting, every agency that such a process and such a result would need. But adequate time was as essential as the adequate means; because gradual progression and acquisition could alone bring together, into the human spirit, the innumerable materials of which such perfection must consist. We are not aware of the myriads of right perceptions, ideas, thoughts, wishes, imaginations, reasoning, volitions, and judgments, which actually form at the present moment a right-minded and rightly-acting individual of the present amount of attained human excellence. But all these had to be brought separately into existence, in some individual or other, in different ages and nations, before they could be imbibed and collected into the individual mind of each who now has accumulated and possesses them.

Hence a perfect moral being can only be the last result
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of a very long series of such attainments, discoveries, feelings, thoughts, actions, and habits, as at length compose a production so noble. Much evil and much good must be suffered and done, not by one only, but by all, and therefore by each, before any one, and still more before large multitudes can be of this character. The essence and principle of an acquired moral nature is, that the mind should itself become its own spontaneous right director. It must no longer need tuition to be so, nor even the self-coercion. Moral perfection will always consist in the soul itself having been so fully trained and exercised in every rectitude of thought and feeling, will and habit, that its actual nature has become that which can only so think and feel, will and act. We are all in a school of exercise for acquiring this inclination and transformation of our nature. Few of us like the training or the duty, but we are all under the discipline, whether we wish it or not, and we are all attaining considerable improvement from it.

LETTER XV.

A few observations on the Causes and Objects of the General Deluge, and on the state of our Historical Information concerning it.

MY DEAR SYDNEY,

I HAVE NOW to call your attention to that great event from which our present natural and social worlds have more immediately proceeded.

The anterior state of both was so different from what followed the awful revolution which terminated their previous condition, that the new order of things had many of the effects of a new creation. It established that system of life and course of nature under which the human race have ever since been subsisting. It is from the deluge that we may date the more direct commencement of the present state and mode of existence, and laws of human life and society; and therefore it deserves some consideration of its cause, objects, effects, and evidences.

It is a waste of ingenuity or labour to seek to account for it by natural causes ; partial inundations may arise from local circumstances, and partial operations of ordinary agencies ; but no existing laws could produce a universal destruction, because the regular course of nature is to continue as it is, and not to subvert itself. It is made to subsist, and to be what we find it to be ; and it looks like a contradiction which approaches an impossibility, that established laws and agencies can at the same time be both preserving and destroying. We may likewise say, that if natural laws could then have produced a universal deluge, they would have since repeated the operation with reiterations like the cometary visitations ; but the history of all nations attests, that since the existing records of human transactions began, no second general deluge has ever taken place. We therefore run no risk of error in referring this stupendous incident to a supernatural cause, and that can only have been the will, and appointment, and exerted power of that Being, who alone can create and destroy ; who would never suffer any agents to abolish what he meant to continue ; by whose omnipotence either event is equally producible, but who never causes any thing to perish without adequate reasons, and for beneficial results.

Intelligence like that which has formed the universe amid which we are existing, employs its boundless power with as much wisdom and goodness when it alters, as when it constructs. We may therefore be certain that it effected this great revolution in its human world as an improvement in its condition ; as an advancing stage of its grand process ; for the benefit of those who were afterward to inhabit it ; and as an assistant to the progression of human nature at large. As death, without any assignment of a fixed mode or time of dying, was made the law to all human life ; the removal of the existing population by an overwhelming flood, was no other alteration of the previous course of things, than the causing all those to die at the same time, and at that particular time, who would have inevitably departed at some subsequent, though varying periods. It brought no more death into the world than had been before attached to it. It only caused the individual termination to occur earlier to the existing race than would have happened without it. The Deity did not choose that the future generations of his human creatures should be the offspring of those who had become

so contaminated by corruption and violence; and whose reproductions would have thereby been injurious to themselves and to human nature. He did not mean that such vices and crimes as had become general should be perpetuated, as the character and habit of the human order of beings; and therefore he terminated the population which had become so depraved. In their stead he began a new production of mankind, from a particular and single stem, selected out of the pre-existing society for that purpose. He observed one family that was fit to be the new founders of a fresh series of human nature, consisting of one aged parent and three maturing sons.* He preserved these, with their wives, in a spacious vessel, built under his direction, with such of the animal genera as he intended should spread again their species over the new surface that would be formed.† The safety of these chosen survivors having been provided for, the tremendous commotion was produced. No detail of the operation has been recorded. Descending rains, and waters bursting up from below, are all that is alluded to of the natural means.‡ The discharges from the skies continued for forty days,§ but the waters continued rising and rushing onward for one hundred and fifty days, until they covered the high hills. Their general elevation above the surface is marked as having been fifteen cubits,|| but the tumultuous movements of the agitated waves were so directed, that their torrents swept over the mountains during the continuance of their destructive operation; and all that had life on earth perished in their overwhelming violence,¶ except the eight persons whom the ark rescued from the catastrophe, as it floated on the new-made sea.**

As a single day's convulsion and inundation would have been sufficient to extinguish human life, the facts that the effusions from the skies lasted forty days, that the waters continued rising and prevailing for one hundred and fifty, and that one hundred and fifty more days were afterward occupied in

* "Come thou and all thy house into the ark: for thee I have seen righteous before me in this generation."—Gen. vii. 1.

† Gen. vii. 2, 3, 14-16.

‡ On the seventeenth day of the second month, in Noah's six hundredth year, "all the fountains of the great deep were broken up, and the windows or floodgates of heaven were opened."—Gen. vii. 11.

§ Gen. vii. 12, 17.

|| Gen. vii. 19, 20.

¶ Gen. vii. 21, 22.

** Gen. vii. 17, 23.

the retiring and subsidence of the watery fluid, announce to us that a great process was then in operation for other objects than the death of the subsisting population. These objects must have related to the state and structure of the earth itself in its habitable surface ; and as geological investigations show that the present rocks and masses of our surface are fragmentary formations of earlier ones, and have been preceded or accompanied by great changes, and convulsions, and dislocations, it is our duty, and the dictate of our common sense to remember, that we have here, in the diluvian catastrophe, an actual period, historically recorded, in which events and agitations of this character are attested to have taken place.

Beyond this remark I will not press the consideration here ; but no man of science can do justice to his subject, who forgets or disregards the facts which have been thus preserved for our knowledge. It is not indeed within the capacity of every geologist, nor perhaps of any one in the present imperfect state of the almost new-made science, to discern amid the phenomena which the rocks and remains of the earth present to his observing judgment, what were the operations and changes which attended the commotions of the deluge. But we should not repeat the common error of depreciating what we fail to understand, or dismiss that from our consideration which we cannot satisfactorily explain. The true is true at all times, whether we comprehend or like it; or not ; it is therefore a hasty act of mind, and not sound judgment, to reject the admission of a deluge because it does not suit our pre-adopted theories. It is wiser to mistrust them than to disbelieve what has been so authoritatively recorded. But such conduct will only be a stimulus to new minds, to take up the subject with calmer impartiality, and to endeavour to form happier suppositions, to make juster inferences, and to exercise a penetrating sagacity, superior to that of their predecessors. These results will in time take place. Most of the last series of geologists, and some of the present, have thought proper to discredit the interposition of the deluge, and have treated the idea of it, and its supporters, with mingled animosity and contempt. This is to be regretted, and will not deter the friends of intellectual religion from still desiring to see it in friendly harmony and coalition with real scientific knowledge : nothing is done well by their disunion. The more you study geology, the more

you will be convinced that the opponents of the Mosaic deluge have not advanced one single step in accounting for the appearances and present state of things without it, nor will any degree of talent or labour be more successful that may choose to disregard it. For as it is an event which has really occurred, it will be as impossible to form a true theory of the earth without it, as it would be to write an authentic history of England, and yet discredit or omit the Roman and Anglo-Saxon or Danish invasions.

Looking up to the divine will and exerted power as the producing cause of the deluge, and considering the objects of its mission to be the termination of a state of human nature which had become incurably deteriorated in that form by the existing population; and to be also the commencement of a new generation and diffusion of human beings of a superior kind, and from a selected stock, that was the least vitiated by the demoralization of the rest, our next consideration will be directed to its effects, and to see what historical evidences yet remain of its occurrence.*

The effects will be of two sorts, those on physical nature, and those on the human race; but I will postpone my remarks on these, till we have taken a review of the traditions that exist in various parts of the world concerning this grand catastrophe; and only here observe, that the authentic narrative of it indicates that a space of three hundred days

* Hesiod has preserved to us the traditions of the civilized world in his time, as to the first state of mankind, in his *Weeks and Days*: they have an obvious analogy with the Mosaic account. He describes the silver race as the second state of man, "much worse than the first," *πολυ χειροτερον*, not like the golden one, either in disposition or mind. He adds the remarkable circumstance, so correspondent with that length of life which the book of Genesis gives to the first descendants of Adam: "The growing child was nursed a hundred years by his careful mother, very infantine in his home." He tells us that they frequently shortened their mature life by their follies, "for they could not abstain from mutually inflicting violence on each other, nor would they worship the immortals, nor sacrifice to the blessed ones on their altars. Therefore Zeus (the Deity) removed them, because they would not give honour to the blessed gods who inhabit Olympus."—Hesiod, *Egy.* v. 126–128.

Here we find the longevity of the antediluvian or primitive men alluded to; their vices, and violence, and impiety, and their destruction by heaven because they were so immoral. This exactly concurs with the Hebrew narrative. But he does not mention the means by which the Deity destroyed or removed them. The Hebrew Scripture supplies this in its missioned flood.

elapsed from the commencement of the dispensation, before all that had been intended and ordained was fully accomplished. During this interval, the external characters of the awful operation were those of confusion and commotion, and violent transmutations. But the confusion was but in outward seeming. The commotions, fierce and boisterous as they were in reality, were yet all strictly regulated and scientifically directed. The transmutations, however vast, and apparently for some time most anomalous in their dislocations, were all found to have been undergoing the most harmonious adaptations, and the most useful and benevolent distribution and arrangement for the future comfort of mankind. Hence, when Noah and his family descended from the ark, they found a new earth provided for them, in which all that was beautiful and picturesque to the eye, and sublime and elevating to the feelings, and rich and beauteous to their comfort and conduct, in due time appeared, and has ever since continued to subsist and recur for the delight and benefit of human kind. The day of anger and terror had passed away, and the new-created surface displayed their Almighty Sovereign in that aspect, which is to himself the most gratifying; the aspect of paternal kindness, of condescending guardianship, and of the most gracious beneficence.*

We will now consider the notions which prevailed in the

* Strabo presents us with these views of the state of things after the deluge:—

"Plato thought that after the floods, *κατακλυσμος*, three modes of civil society, *πολιτείας*, successively arose. First, a simple and rude life on the tops of the mountains; dreading the waters which were yet floating over the plains. Secondly, at the bottom of the mountains, they became a little bolder, as the plains began to be dried up. Thirdly, they resided in the plains. Other stages may be added to these; the last, on the seashores and on the islands, all fear having ceased.

"Homer gives an example of the first, in his life of the Cyclops, feeding on fruits which grew of themselves, and dwelling on the tops of mountains, or in caves. Thus, 'All things sprang up to them, without sowing or labour. They have no forum, counsellors, or law-givers, but they inhabit the tops of the lofty mountains and hollow caverns. Each was his own lawmaker to his wife and children.'—*Odys.* i. v. 100.

"He shows the second state in his Dardanus. 'He built Dardanide. There, the sacred Ilus was not built on the plain, the city of many languaged men, but they inhabited the foot of Ida, with its numerous springs.'—*Od.* 13. v. 216. The third was under Ilus who dwelt on the plains: 'The tomb of the ancient Ilus, son of Dardanus, in the middle of the plains.'—*Od.* 11. v. 160.—*Strabo Geog.* 592-885.

world on this point of its history, or rather such of them as have been noticed by the writers we possess who have alluded to it. We shall find them to be very inaccurate and very imperfect, but as almost all the ancient writings on the history of these several countries have been destroyed, we shall find the information which we can collect, although quite sufficient to authenticate the fact of a general deluge, yet very wild, incongruous, and scanty. It occurred so long before correct and rational history began to be written out of Judea, and such a vast quantity of what was composed has been lost for ever to us, that it is more remarkable that so many intimations of it can be collected, than that more numerous allusions, more just accounts cannot now be obtained. Let us take a fair review of them as men desirous to ascertain only what is true, and therefore giving to each its due weight and estimation, and observing, likewise, what coincidences they display with the Hebrew history, amid those divergences which all traditions, and popular narratives, and foreign representations usually exhibit, wherever a solemn record has not been kept and faithfully transmitted. The Mosaic document is the only account which possesses this character.*

* The vast quantity of the works of ancient writers on the history of the world which have perished since the Gothic abruptions of the Roman empire, is what very few persons have any idea of. A proportionate multitude of events narrated by them, and not in the few which have been preserved to us, has therefore passed into irretrievable oblivion. It is this loss which causes the Hebrew history to stand so insulated in its great facts, because they all took place so long before the existing histories were written. But this circumstance makes them more invaluable to us, for without them we should be in total darkness as to the real origin of things, and to all the first part of the authentic history of the world. A very long catalogue of the ancient histories which have disappeared, but which some of the classical authors have incidentally mentioned, might be made: but as a specimen only of the loss, I will notice a few which happen to be alluded to by Plutarch in only one of his works.

ANCIENT HISTORIANS lost, mentioned by PLUTARCH :

- Dositheus, 3d Book of.—Plut. vol. i. p. 544.
 Aristides, Milesius, in 1 Σικελικων, ib.; 3 Ἱστορικων, p. 545.
 Agatharchides, Samius, in 2 Περσικων.
 Χρυσερμος, in 3 Πελοποννησιακων, 545.
 Aristides, Milesius, 3 Ἰταλικων, 546; 40 Ἱρ. 547, 549. Tarq. Sup.
 550. Manlius, 551. Tarq.
 Aristides, 1 Περσικων, 546.
 Kallisthenes, 2 Μεταμορφωσεων, 546.
 Trisimachus, 3 Κριτικων Found. 547.

- Κριτολαός, 3 'Επιροτικῶν.
 Alexarchus, 4 'Ιταλικῶν, on Tullus Hostil.
 Kallisthenes, 3 Μακεδονικῶν, 548.
 Theotimus, 2 'Ιταλικῶν, on Horat. Cocles.
 Eratosthenes, in 'Εριγονη, Plut. vi. p. 548.
 Kritolaos, in 4 Φαινομενων, 549.
 Χρυσερμος, in 2 'Ιστορικων, 549.
 Κλειτωνυμος, in 'Ιταλικ.
 Arctades, the Κνιδίος in 3 Μακεδ.
 Ktesiphos, in 3 Βεστικων, 549. Epaminondas killed his son for disobedience, though victorious, 550.
 Nicias of Malea, 550.
 Theophilus, in 3 'Ιταλικῶν, Roman. Clusium.
 Pythocles, 3 'Ιταλικῶν, 550, Carthag. et Sicul.
 Meryllus, 3 Βοιωτικῶν.
 Κλειτοφων, 1 Γαλατικῶν, 551, Brennus.
 Dymaratos, 2 'Ακαδικῶν.
 Aristides the Milesian, in 'Ιταλικ. in Horat. et Curat. 551. Rom.
 552. ib. 3 'Γρ. 554. ib. Hannib. 5. 7. 61. ib.
 Dereyllus, 1 Κτισεων.
 Socrates, 2 Θρακιων.
 Dositheus, 3 Σικελικῶν, ib. 3 'Ιταλ. Marius Cimb. 553. 9. 61. 1 'Γρ. 62.
 Parthenius, the Poet.
 Κλειτωνυμος, 2 Συβαρτικῶν.
 Theodosius, 3 Μεταμορφ.
 Iohas, 3 Διβυκων, 554. Juba.
 Esinnax, 3 Διβυκων.
 Δωροθεος, 1 Μεταμορφ. 555.
 Μενυλος, 3 'Ιταλ. 555.
 'Ασηταδης Κνιδίος, 2 Νησιωτικων, 556. Insula.
 Σωστρατος, 2 Τυρρηνικων.
 Χρυσειππος, 1 'Ιταλικ. Rem.
 Aristotle, 2 Παραδοξων.
 Agasilaus, 3 'Ιταλικ.
 Dositheus, 3 Λυδιακων, 557.
 Kallisthenes, 3 Θρακι.
 Theophilus, 2 Πελοπ. 558.
 Aristoboules, 3 'Ιταλικ.
 Doritheus, in Pelopadas.
 Aristeides, 19 'Ιταλ. 560. 4 'Γρ. 562.
 Ζωπυρος Βυζαντιος, 3 'Ιστορικ.
 Περανδρος, 4 Πελοπ.
 Αγαθων Σαρμιος, 561.
 Δερκυλλος, 3 'Ιταλ.
 Alex. Polyphist., 3 'Ιταλ. 502.
 Pythocles Samnius, 3 Γεοργικων.
 Aristocles, 3 'Ιταλ. 503.
 Plut. in his Parallels, vol. i. pages as marked.

LETTER XVI.

Ancient Traditions of the Deluge in Chaldea, Assyria, Egypt, Greece, Rome, Phenicia, Syria, Armenia, and Persia.

THE most ancient account of the deluge, except that of the Pentateuch, but much later, which has escaped the ravages of time, is the narrative which Berosus has inserted in his Chaldean Annals. He lived in the period of the Macedonian dynasties, but what he mentions he declares that he compiled from the written documents kept at Babylon; so that it is their evidence we are reading when we peruse his statement. These described Chronos, one of their worshipped deities, as having appeared in a dream to the king Xisuthrus, to apprise him that mankind would be destroyed by a flood; and commanding him to build a naval vessel to contain his relations, the necessary food, and also birds and quadrupeds.

The brief detail which the historian of Chaldea has thus preserved of this people's tradition and public memorials of the event, comes nearest of any others to the Hebrew account; and being derived from an independent source, and coinciding with it in the most essential points of the divine premonition and causation of the preservation of one family, and of the enjoined fabrication of a floating ark for that purpose, with the conservation of animals likewise, and even of birds sent out to ascertain the state of the coast, this Chaldean record is an impressive testimony to the reality of the catastrophe, and of its moral causes.*

*This account was part of the second book of the Annals of Berosus, from which Alexander Polyhistor extracted the passage quoted by Eusebius in his Greek Chronicle, p. 8, and by Syncellus, p. 28. Berosus also narrates, that this king built a vessel five stadia long by two broad, and entered it with his wife, children, and nearest friends. The flood came, and when it abated, Xisuthrus sent out some birds, which not finding any food, returned. Some days after they again flew out, and came back with muddy feet. Put out a third time, they returned no more. Thinking from this that the ground had become cleared of the waters, Xisuthrus opened his vessel, and found it resting on a mountain, on which he descended.—Ib. Josephus also cites Berosus to the same effect, in his first book against Apion. Apollodorus likewise more briefly quotes the Chaldean historian.—Euseb. p. 5. Sync. Chron. p. 39.

Abydenus was another ancient author, who, in his Median and Assyrian History, had notices of the same catastrophe, with some circumstances similar to the Chaldean account.* We learn from Diodorus Siculus, that the Egyptians had likewise preserved a memory of it; and discussed their origin from the calamitous event, either as having been preserved from its general devastation, or as springing up afterward anew from the teeming earth.† All these allusions imply a universal deluge.

The destruction of the whole living world, in its primordial times, by a deluge to which, as in Egypt, the name of Deucalion was attached, was the prevalent opinion in Greece. From him and his wife Pyrrha, the human race were stated to have been renewed. Individual writers occasionally arose, who confined the incident to Greece; but this was not the popular or predominant impression. According to that, it was a general destruction of the existing mankind. The Greek mythologist, Apollodorus, details the tradition as it was usually accredited, and makes the third generation of men, or the Brazen Age, which preceded our Iron one, to have been that which so perished; though as Deucalion's antediluvian abode was in Greece, he only specifies the local effects there.‡

* Abydenus, as Eusebius quotes his writings on "τα Μηδία καὶ Ἀσσυρία," states that Chronos signified to Xisuthrus that there should be vast rains, πλοῦτος ὀμβρῶν. He mentions the birds going out and returning, but that the *third* time they came back with mud on their claws—Prep. Ev. p. 414, and Chron. p. 13. Cyril also gives the passage in his first book against Julian. It is likewise in Syncellus, p. 44.

† Mentioning the persuasion of the Egyptians that they were the first of mankind, this historian adds, "They say, on the whole, that either in the flood, which occurred in the time of Deucalion, the greatest part of living things perished, but that it was likely that those who inhabited Egypt so much to the south, and so free from rain, were mostly preserved; or, as some declare, that all that were alive being destroyed, the earth again brought forth new natures of animals from their beginning."—Diod. Sic. l. i. p. 10.

‡ "When Jupiter determined to destroy the brazen race, Deucalion, by the advice of Prometheus, made a great ark, λαονακα, put into it all necessary things, and entered it with Pyrrha. Jupiter then, pouring down heavy rains from heaven, overwhelmed the greatest part of Greece, so that all men perished except a few who fled to the highest mountains. He floated nine days and nights on the sea of waters, and at last stopped on Mount Parnassus. Then Jupiter sent Mercury to ask him what he wished, and he solicited that mankind might be made again. Jupiter bade him to throw stones over his head, from which men should come, and that those cast by Pyrrha should be turned

Our former Letter mentioned, that Hesiod inculcated that the second race of mankind had been removed by the divine power from the earth, on account of their wickedness. Neither account limits the destruction to Grecians only, but both apply it to the entire race of men then subsisting, called the Second or Silver Generation in the one, and the Brazen in the other; both represent the extinction as produced by the divine will, and as followed by a new race or production of human kind.

Lucian shows us that in his time the same ideas and belief were prevalent, for he exhibits his misanthrope Timon, as reproaching Jupiter for sending in his youthful days, that is, in the most ancient period of the world, such a calamity on human kind, and for a universal destruction of them by lightning, earthquake, and overwhelming waters, preserving only Deucalion in an ark.*

In his Essay on Dancing, he likewise mentions the ark, in which the relics of the human race were preserved.† In another of his works, his largest dissertation, which has been generally received as his, and which there are no satisfactory reasons to ascribe to any other, he narrates the Grecian opinions more fully about it. For this purpose, it is immaterial by whom they are stated. What we desire to know is, what traditions were in general circulation in pagan Greece on this subject. We have these at length in this treatise, and they correspond with Lucian's briefer intimations in his other compositions. He expressly professes to state the popular belief on this subject.‡ In this we find that the

into women."—Apoll. l. i. p. 23. Though Greece is only mentioned, being the country Deucalion was by Grecians supposed to be living in, the rest of the account refers to all the human race.

* "For when you were young and excitable, and glowing with anger, you did many things violent and unjust. Your thunder was roaring; your lightnings flew about like darts; earthquakes were frequent; hail fell like stones; and that I boldly speak my mind, vehement and impetuous rains, every drop a river, came, so that in a short time such a shipwreck was made under Deucalion, that all things were overwhelmed with the waters: scarcely one single ark (*κιβωτον*) was saved, which reached Mount Lucoris, the embers as it were of the human race, preserved as the progeny of greater evil."—Lucian, *Τιμων Μισανθρ.* s. 3. p. 59.

† Luc. de Saltat. v. i. p. 930.

‡ "That Deucalion, under whom was the great water—¹ I heard of Deucalion in Greece, and the account which the Grecians speak of him. The *μυθος* is thus. The race which is now mankind was not the first, but all that generation perished. The present is the second race, and this

deluge was a general destruction of all mankind for their wickedness, and by a universal flood of waters, and that one family, with several animals, were preserved in an ark, and repopled the earth.*

We have another authentication to us of the same accredited traditions in Greece, in the casual intimation of Plutarch, that a dove was let out of his ark by Deucalion, to ascertain if the catastrophe had ceased. He alludes to this as to a general notion abroad in his time, in the same way that he would to any other popular opinion. He refers to it as an illustration of his argument, which, in this treatise, was on the mental powers of the animated races.†

Plato has also incidentally left us an admission that a universal deluge, and only one, was the public opinion of Greece, for he introduces the Egyptian priest who meant to controvert it, as thus representing it.‡ Solon is here exhibited as having the same belief with his countrymen, and therefore it is clear that the popular idea was that also of the wisest and greatest men in Greece, in the sixth century before the Christian era. The Egyptian proceeds to tell him that there had been many, on the authority of the priesthood of the Nile; but that before "this mighty deluge," a great state and city of the Athenians, with a vast population and splendid history, had existed.§ This looks like an exagger-

came again into multitude from Deucalion.' After describing the wickedness of the former, he adds, 'Immediately a great water-flood came. Immense rains fell. The rivers flowed over largely, and the sea extensively overwhelmed, so that all things became waters, and every one perished except Deucalion, who alone of mankind was left for the second generation.'—Luc. de Dea Syria. Op. v. ii. p. 382.

* Lucian goes on, "His preservation was thus effected. He had a great *Λαρυκία*. To this, swine, horses, lions, serpents, and other animals came that inhabit the woods or are domesticated. He received all, and they did not hurt him, but a great amity prevailed among them, and all sailed in one ark while the waters prevailed. These things they relate of Deucalion among the Greeks."—Lucian de Dea Syria, p. 383.

† It is in his treatise on the comparative sagacity of land and sea animals, "They say that a dove, dismissed from the ark (*λαρυκία*) to be an indication to Deucalion whether it had become fine weather, flew back again to him while in it."—Plut. de Solert. v. ii. p. 968.

‡ This occurs in his *Timæus*, where, in detailing the Egyptian priest's lecture to Solon about the antiquities of their nation, which the Greeks were not acquainted with, he makes the priest to say, "You only mention one deluge of the earth."—Plat. Tim. v. iii. p. 23.

§ The priest details to him this account, according to which the Athenians had existed for 8,000 years before this "mighty deluge." Solon

ated tradition of some part of the antediluvian history, as all that was placed before Deucalion, by any one, may have been. But it was what Solon and the Greeks had never heard of, and therefore the Egyptian detailed it to him as new history, and Plato preserves it as so narrated. No casual allusion can give a stronger testimony to the fact, that Deucalion's deluge was then considered by all Greece as a universal desolation, and as the only deluge. Plato in another work mentions the same catastrophe in the same meaning, and as implying the same extent of destruction.*

Aristotle seems to have been one of those who thought that the general tradition ought to be contracted into a local inundation of Greece only. Yet, as if aware that the public impression was against him, he does not choose to commit himself by explicitly declaring that it extended no farther. On the contrary, the words he has selected to employ give it a greater diffusion, for he introduces the qualifying adverb "chiefly." He says, "it chiefly happened about Greece."†

The Arundelian Marbles have the deluge of this Deucalion briefly inscribed on them, and state that he fled to Athens from the Lycoris;‡ which is the mountain on which Lucian mentions that he was saved.

The Athenians believed that the flood retired from the land through a cavity in their district, over which their ancestors had erected a sacred building. Pausanias notes this.§ They made this event the subject of an annual

declared that he had never heard of it, and therefore begged to know more about his unknown but "ancient fellow-citizens."—Plat. Tim. ib.

* It is in his book on the Laws that Plato mentions the great deluge, in which the cities were destroyed, and the useful arts lost.—De Leg. l. iii. p. 677.

† It is in his Meteorology that he thus alludes to it: "As that called the deluge (*κατακλυσμος*) under Deucalion; for this, chiefly, (*μαλιστα*) happened about the Grecian country, and of this, in ancient Hellas, which is between Dodona and Achelous, where the flood in many places made revolutions."—Arist. de Meteor. l. i. c. 12, p. 370.

‡ "After which was the *κατακλυσμος* under Deucalion, and he fled from the rains from Lucoria to Athens."—Mar. Arund. p. 2. It deserves our notice, that as Moses makes the first act of Noah after he quitted the ark to have been building an altar and offering a sacrifice, Gen. viii. 20; so the Marbles add of Deucalion, "he built a temple to Jupiter and offered a sacrifice for his preservation," *τα σωτηρια εθυσεν*. lb.

§ Paus. Attica. l. i. p. 82. They placed his death and sepulchre in their city, and ascribed to him an ancient temple of Jupiter.—lb.

ceremony.* This is a striking corroboration of the fact of the general belief of the deluge; though national vanity chose to follow its usual course, of localizing among themselves the memorial of its departure.

These authorities are quite sufficient to prove that the public opinion in Greece, transmitted from age to age on this subject, was, that the deluge of Deucalion was a universal catastrophe, whatever other notions any particular author or district may have formed, as better suiting other wishes or conjectures. Deucalion was usually placed at the very beginning of the present human race; for he was always made the son of Prometheus,† whom Hesiod represents as the framer of the female sex.‡ The poet of the *Argonauticæ* describes Deucalion as the first founder of cities; the first builder of temples to the gods, and the first king.§

It is a curious connexion with the Mosaic intimations of the diluvian ancestors of the renewed human kind, that Prometheus was considered by the Grecian poets as the son of Japetus.|| Japheth or Japet, is the child of Noah, from whom the Greeks and other nations descended. There is in this Greek genealogy a substitution of the great-grandson for the grandfather, making Deucalion the second descendant of him who was the son of the preserved patriarch; but this is only one of those confusions and mistakes, from lapse of time, of the real circumstances, which so commonly distinguish tradition from authentic history. The Grecians, in their genealogical chronology, placed the deluge under

* "In the temple the ground is separated a cubit, and they say that after the flood of rains which descended under Deucalion, the water flowed off through this. They threw into it every year a cake, composed of honey and wheat."—Arist. de Meteor. l. i. c. 12, p. 370.

† So Apollonius Rhodius sings, in his *Argonauticæ*, l. iii. v. 1085, and the Scholiast on him, that his Greek historian, Hellanicus, so represents him. Strabo mentions Pandora as his mother, p. 677. She was the female made by Prometheus.

‡ Hesiod, *Epya*.

§

"Then Prometheus,
The son of Japetus, produced the good Deucalion,
Who first made cities, and raised temples
To the Immortals, and first reigned over mankind."

Apoll. Rh. l. iii. v. 1085-9.

|| Hesiod also styles Prometheus the son of Japetus, both in his *Weeks and Days*, and in his *Theogony*.

the great-grandson, who may have so moved into and settled in Thessaly, and from thence have gone to Athens, instead of under the actual ancestor his grandfather, who was with Noah in the ark.

Pindar, in one of his Olympic odes, refers to the same catastrophe, and in words whose just meaning implies the idea of a general destruction of mankind.*

We have not the ancient traditions of the Romans on this subject. But Ovid gives us at great length the notions which he patronised and versified upon it in the reign of Augustus; and as poets who write to please, generally adopt the most popular ideas on the topics they select, we may take his statement as a representation of what was then circulating among his countrymen, and especially the higher orders, for he was a courtly author in this respect.†

Pliny expressly alludes to the deluge as an actual occurrence. He speaks of it as we should do, as a well-known and understood era, and as a general overwhelming; for Joppa was in Syria, and not in Greece.‡ Mela and Solinus also notice it as if it had been of this kind, a universal one.§

* After stating that Pyrrha and Deucalion had produced a stony race, he adds, "They say indeed that a black violence of showers had overflowed the earth."—Olymp. O. v. 76.

† Ovid narrates it with all his lavish exuberance, in his first book, in 225 hexameters. The crimes of the brazen generation were the cause. Jupiter swears that "The race of mortals shall be destroyed by him wherever the sea surrounds the globe."—Met. l. i. v. 187. But the poet gives a very remarkable reason why Jupiter chose to make water the instrument of destruction. He represents his deity as withholding his thunder, because he remembered "that it had been decreed by the Fates that a future time was to come, when the sea and land, and palaces of heaven, were to be in flames, and the great mass of the world was to be struggling with this ruin."

"Esse quoque in fati reminiscitur, affore tempus
Quo mare, quo tellus, correptaque regia cæli
ARDEAT: et mundi moles operosa laboret."—Lib. i. v. 256.

This intimation of the future conflagration of the world was written before our Saviour and his apostles, and shows what important traditions had floated down from primeval antiquity, although but few of them have been preserved.

‡ "They state that Joppa of the Phenicians is more ancient than the deluge: 'antiquior terrarum inundatione,'"—Pliny, lib. v. c. 14. As this is the port from which Jonah embarked, it is a singular circumstance that, as he adds, a "fabulosa ceta," a fabulous whale, was worshipped there; "colitur illic."—Ib. It was there also that the whale was supposed to come out of the sea to swallow Andromeda.—Ib.

§ "Joppæ ante diluvium ut ferunt, condita."—Mela. The notice of

We may infer that the Phenicians had preserved some memory of this catastrophe by their tradition of it at Joppa, and by the fact that it was noticed by Hieronymus the Egyptian, in his Phenician Annals.* That it was an object of public belief in Syria, we learn from Lucian's account of its temple at Hierapolis. The narrative there coincided with the Grecian account.† But the people of this city ascribed the foundation of their sacred edifice to Deucalion; and added, that the chasm in the ground, over which it was built, had absorbed the waters from the earth: ascribing to their country that local deliverance from them, which Athens appropriated to her own land, and which the Syrians here commemorated in a similar manner; by erecting a temple over the presumed place of their departure.‡

It was a natural consequence, both of such an event and of the transmitted remembrances of it, that some countries would claim to be the locality, where the preserving vessel rested as the tempestuous waters subsided. Parnassus was the mountain reported in part of Greece to be the place where those who escaped were saved.§ But the highest point of the Armenian chain was supposed by others to be the station on which they descended from the ark.|| An

Solinus is to the same effect: "*Deinde Joppe, oppidum antiquissimum orbe toto, utpote ante inundationem terrarum condita.*"—Sol. c. 34.

* Josephus refers to this author, as also to Mnaseas, whose works are now among those many historical volumes of antiquity which have long since been lost.

† Lucian describes it as such in his treatise on the Syrian goddess, quoted before in note†, on p. 240.

‡ He says, the Syrians there "state that a surprising thing happened in their city; a great chasm opened and received all the water, and that Deucalion built a temple to Juno over it." The author adds, "I have seen the aperture. It is under the temple. Whether it was formerly larger, or such as it now is, I know not. What I beheld was small. They say that twice every year water comes from the sea into the temple. Not only the priests there, but all Syria and Arabia, carry water to it."

"Many men come even from Euphrates to the sea, and all bring up water and first pour it out in the temple. It goes into the chasm, and though it be small, it receives a great quantity of water. In doing this they say the custom was established by Deucalion, as a memorial of the calamity and of his preservation."—Luc. de Dea Syria.

§ Pausanias, p. 619.

|| The universal history of Nicolaus Damascenus has perished; but Josephus has preserved a passage from his 96th book, which states that "in Armenia is a great mountain called Baris, on which the account is that many were saved from a flood, and that one person was carried in an

ancient writer related that the person preserved went from Armenia into Syria.* Such pretensions are farther evidences of the diffusion of the persuasion, that a catastrophe like this had occurred to mankind.

Mount Ararat in Armenia has obtained the distinction from most writers, of being the position to which Moses alluded in his words, "And the ark rested upon the mountains of Ararat."†

Among the ancient Persians, the orthodox Magi believed the deluge to have extended over the whole earth, while some of the sects of their superstitions disputed or doubted its universality.‡

ark (Արարատ) to its summit. The remains of its wood were preserved there a long time."

* Melo, in his book against the Jews, is quoted by Alexander Polyhistor, to say, that "the man who escaped from the deluge with his sons, was driven out of Armenia, and passing through the intermediate country, settled in the mountain deserts of Syria."—Eusebius *Præf. Ev. lib. ix. c. 19. p. 420.*

† Gen. viii. 4. Grotius remarks, that the Hebrew name Ararat, used by Moses, has been translated by his Chaldee interpreters, Kardû, and that Josephus calls it the Cordyæan mountains. Curtius mentions the Cordæan mountains in Armenia, which Strabo, Pliny, and Ptolemy write "Gordyæos."—Grot. *de Ver. p. 192.* It is just to the memory of this celebrated man to say, that he was one of the first who called the attention of mankind to most of these ancient testimonials of the flood, which Bayle observes, he "has gathered together very curiously."—*Œuvr. Crit. v. ii. p. 328.* They were cited in the notes to his intelligent work on the truth of Christianity.

‡ See Hyde *Rel. Vet. Pers. p. 171.* The opinions of those who made it a partial inundation seem to have been far more modern than the others. Thus the Parian marbles, which notice it as if only in Greece, were not inscribed until after the 264th year before the Christian era, or nearly 300 years after Solon. Whenever some Greeks place any historical events before their Deucalion, I think that, like the Egyptian priest to Solon, they allude to some imperfect traditions of what concerned the antediluvian world.

LETTER XVII.

The Traditions of the Flood in China—In the Parsee Books—In the Sanscrit—In Arabia and Turkey—In Africa—And various Nations of South America—Also in North America and the South Sea Isles.

THE historical traditions recapitulated in the preceding Letter were those of the ancient world: if we extend our view from these to the modern nations who have become prominent around us, we shall find that similar impressions have also prevailed among them, although more mingled with fantastic absurdities, in proportion to the inferiority of their intellectual cultivation, and to the extravagance of their popular superstitions.

The Chinese literature has several notices of this awful catastrophe. The Chou-king, the history of China written by Confucius, opens with a representation of their country being still under the effect of the waters.* The opposing school of the Tao-see also speaks of the deluge as occurring under Niu-hoa, whom they make a female.† The seasons were then changed: day and night confounded: great waters overspread the universe, and men were reduced to the condition of fishes.‡ Other Chinese writers refer to the same event.§ The modern Parsees or Guebres

* Yao, their most ancient sovereign, acknowledged by Confucius, is introduced abruptly as saying to his ministers, "Alas! the deluging waters are spreading destruction. They surround the mountains. They overtop the hills. They rise high, and extend wide as the spacious vault of heaven."—Chou-king, translated by De Guignes, p. 1, 2, and Dr. Morrison's citation from it, in his preface to the Chinese Dictionary. The Han-lin commentators on the Chou-king and Houngan-koue remark, that this deluge did not happen in the time of Yao, but before him. The text of the Tehin-tsee, and the commentary of the Tehu-meon, are cited on this point in the Dissertation written by Ko, a Chinese, prefixed to *Mem. des Chin.* v. i. p. 159.

† Fong-sou-long says, "Niu-hoa conquered the waters by wood, and made a vessel fit for a long course."—*Mem. Chl.* i. p. 157.

‡ Lopi, as quoted in *Mem.* p. 157.

§ "The celebrated Kong-in-ta adds, that the waters overwhelmed the animals and all habitations."—*Ib.* 158. Tcha-che alludes to them; and Mong-tsee remarks, "Under Yao, the empire was not yet formed. The stagnant waters of the deluge still covered the plains, and what was

have succeeded to the Magi of antiquity in their fire worship, and to many of their ideas. Their mussulman conquerors drove them out of Persia; but they have found a home on the northwestern shores of the Indian Peninsula, where they pursue their peculiar system.*

In one of their sacred books attached to their Zendavesta, the deluge is wildly but obviously alluded to.†

The ancient and venerated books of the HINDOOS, in their Sanscrit literature, distinctly and copiously commemorate this destruction. It forms a prominent part of their great and revered poem, the Mahabharat.‡ It is also the subject of the first of their Puranas, the sacred writings which they revere next to the Vedas, entitled Matsya, or the Fish.§ In the eighth book of the Bhagawata Purana,|| it is also narrated at

not under water was covered with trees."—Mem. Chl. l. p. 159. By cutting large canals, Yao made the country habitable.—Ib. 160.

* We are indebted to the enthusiastic Anquetil's curiosity for a translation of the Zendavesta and other books of the ancient Parsees.

† This is the Boun-dehesch translated by Anquetil. Its account is, that after the world had been created, Ahriman, the evil principle, lay bound for 3,000 years. He then roused himself, and went into the world to destroy it. He bruised and burnt it. Ormuzd exerted his power, and poured down his rain. The earth became covered with water to the height of a man. The rain fell in drops as large as a bull's head. It rained for ten days and nights. The Kharfaters, the creatures of Ahriman, perished in the waters. A wind then arose for three days, and drove the waters from the earth. Trees, animals, and men were then renewed. Boun-dehesch in Anq. Zendavesta, pp. 350, 361, 367.

‡ Bopp published a translation of this portion at Berlin in 1829. The substance of the account is, that the lord of the universe appeared to the pious King Manu, and apprized him that a general inundation would come on, and ordered him to build a vessel, to place in it the seeds of all vegetables, and to enter it. Manu obeyed. The ship, led and protected by the divinity, floated many years on the waters, till at last it grounded on the summit of the Himovan mountains, to which it was fastened by the divine command. This point is called to this day Nau-band-hanam, or, "the tying of the ship."—Bepp. Diluv. Mahab.

§ This is a sacred poem, which consists of 14,000 stanzas. See Sir W. Jones, in *Asiat. Res.* v. i. p. 230, and Wilford's Account, ib. v. iii.

|| According to this narration, the second chief Hindoo deity appeared to the pious King Satya Vrata in the form of a fish, which thus addressed him: "I am Vishnou, the object of your devotion. In seven days the Dinacalpan ends, when there will be a revolution in the universe, and the sea will overwhelm the world. I mean to save you and the seven holy men from this deluge. Prepare for it. I will send you a vessel, in which you will put all sorts of seeds, fruits, and roots. You will enter it and be in darkness, and be carried on the waters. An enormous serpent will try to shipwreck you, but fear it not, but fasten him to my horn. I take the form of a fish to preserve you."—Baga Vadam, translated into French from the Tamul version of the Sanscrit, p. 213.

length, with true Hindoo peculiarities; but the account is remarkable for making eight persons the number of those who were preserved. It is also noticed in others of their venerated Puranas.*

Mohammed has preserved the traditions of the old ARABIANS about it in his Koran, in which it is mentioned in several chapters, and as sent from Heaven as a punishment to mankind.† The Turkish writers have also their peculiar narrations about it.‡

We know as yet but little of the AFRICAN mind, or ancient history of AFRICA. Yet in one of its nations, the memory of a deluge has been found to have been preserved.§

As the American continent had been possessing for ages a variety of populations in different states of civilized and savage life, unknown to the rest of mankind, and maintaining no relations with them before Columbus revealed the new world to the old one; it is a natural inquiry of our curiosity if any traditions of the deluge existed there. To our surprise we find them in every part. Yet I would correct this expression, because the awful event being an actual

Paris, 1788. This is the 18th Purana, chiefly on the life of Chrishna. The Puranas are stated to have been composed by Vyasa. 1 Asiatic Researches, p. 341.

* The Brehme Pooran alludes to it in its second Adhyaye. In the period of the Varahakelp the whole earth was covered with water, and all the keeshes, or holy persons, with great affliction addressed their god Vishnou, who recovered the earth from beneath the water.—Br. P. p. 75.

† In the 23d chap.—“And we revealed our orders to him (Noah), Make the ark in our sight: and when our decree cometh, and the oven shall boil, carry into it one pair of every species of animals: and speak not unto me in behalf of those who have been unjust, for they shall be drowned.”—Sale’s Koran, p. 282. In the 11th chap. “We said, Carry into the ark one pair of every species, and thy family, except him on whom a previous sentence has passed. And the ark swam with them between waves like mountains, and Noah called to his son, who was separated from him, ‘Embark with us, my son!’ and stay not with the unbelievers.” He answered, ‘I will get on a mountain, which will secure me from the water.’”—Ib. p. 179. Jallaloddin and two other of the Mohammedan commentators make Noah’s wife, Waila, to have been an infidel, and to have perished with this son. It is also the subject of chap. 71.

‡ D’Herbelot quotes these from the Turkish book entitled *Thirazal-mancousch*.—Bib. Orient. p. 677.

§ Thus among the Magazines of Darbia, three miles S. W. of Dardfour, the history of a deluge is mentioned in their traditions, in which all human beings perished; but they add, that the Deity was therefore obliged afterward to create mankind anew.—Bull. Univ. 1830, p. 127-9.

truth, it would be surprising if no intimation of it could be traced there. It is therefore quite natural, and it indicates to us the reality of the catastrophe, that both in South and North America traditions prevail about it, sometimes whimsical indeed in the circumstances, but decided as to the fact.

The ancient inhabitants of Chili, the Araucanians, make the flood a part of their historical remembrances.* The Cholulans, who were in the equinoctial regions of New Spain before the Mexicans arrived there, preserved the idea of it in a fantastic form in their hieroglyphical pictures.† The Indians of Chiapa, a region in those parts, had a simpler narrative about it.‡ The Mexicans, in their peculiar paintings, which constituted their books and written literature, had an expressive representation of the catastrophe.§ The

* Molini, in his history of Chili, states, "the Araucanians have a tradition of a great deluge, in which only a few persons were saved, who took refuge upon a high mountain called Thegtheg, or the Thundering, which had three points, and the property of moving upon water."—Mol. Chili, v. ii. p. 82. A more recent authority also mentions of this country, "the Araucanian Indians have preserved the tradition of a universal deluge which drowned the human race."—Bul. Univ. 1830, p. 510.

† Humboldt has quoted from the MSS. of Pedro de Los Reos, who, in 1586, copied on the spot all the hieroglyphical paintings he could procure; "before the great inundation, which took place 4800 years after the creation of the world, the country of Anahuac was inhabited by giants. All those who did not perish were transformed into fishes, save seven, who fled into caverns. When the waters subsided, one of these giants, Xelhua, surnamed the Architect, went to Cholollan; where, as a memorial of the mountain Tlaloc, which had served for an asylum to himself and his six brethren, he built an artificial hill in the form of a pyramid."—Humboldt's Researches, v. i. p. 96.

‡ "According to the ancient traditions collected by the Bishop F. N. de la Vega, the Wodan of the Chiampanese (one of their celebrated chiefs) was grandson of that illustrious old man, who, at the time of the great deluge, in which the greater part of the human race perished, was saved on a raft, together with his family."—Ib. p. 320.

§ The Mexicans made four cycles of past time. Among their paintings in the Vatican Library, copied by Humboldt in his 26th plate, the last period is depicted, which he thus describes: "Fourth Cycle. The age of water, Atonatiuh, the duration of which is 4008 years. A great inundation, which began the year ce calli, the day for water, nahui alt, destroyed mankind. This is the last of the great revolutions which the world has undergone. Men were transformed into fish, except one man and one woman, who saved themselves in the trunk of an ahahuete, or cupressus disticha. The drawing represents the goddess of water, called Matlalcoetzi, and considered as the companion of Tlaloc, descending towards the earth. Coxcox, the Noah of the Mexicans, and his wife Xochiquetzal, are seated in a trunk of a tree, covered with leaves and floating amid the waters."—Ib. v. ii. p. 23.

nations contiguous to them, or connected with them, had similar records of it,* and depict the mountain on which the navigating pair who escaped were saved.† It is still more interesting to us to find, that the natives of the province of Mechoacan had their own distinct account of it, which contained the incident of the birds that were let out from the ark, to enable Noah to judge of the habitable condition of the earth. These people had also applied another name to the preserved individual, Tezpi, which implies a different source of information for what they narrated.‡ The belief of a flood has also been found to exist in the province of Guatemala.§ It was also in Peru and Brazil.

We learn from Humboldt, to whom we owe so much knowledge of all sorts of the natives of South America, that the belief prevailed among all the tribes of the Upper Oroonoko, that at the time of what they call "the GREAT WATERS," their fathers were forced to have recourse to their boats to escape the *general inundation*.|| The Tamanaiks add to their notions of this period, their peculiar ideas of the manner in which the earth was re-peopled.¶ Upon the rocks of En-

* "Of the different nations that inhabit Mexico, paintings representing the deluge of Coxcox are found among the Aztecs, the Miztecs, the Zapotecs, the Tlascallans, and the Mechoacacaneses."—Humb. v. ii. p. 64.

† "The painting represents Coxcox in the midst of the water, lying in a bark. The mountain, the summit of which, crowned by a tree, rises above the waters, is the Peak of Colhuacan, the Ararat of the Mexicans. The horn which is represented on the left is the phonetic hieroglyphic of Colhuacan. At the foot of the mountain appear the heads of Coxcox and his wife. The latter of these is known by the two tresses in the form of horns, which denote the female sex."—Ib. 64.

‡ Humboldt's description is: "The people of Mechoacan preserved a tradition, according to which Coxcox, whom they called Tezpi, embarked in a spacious acalli with his wife, his children, several animals, and grain. When the Great Spirit Tezcatlipoca ordered the waters to withdraw, Tezpi sent out from his bark a vulture, the *zopilote* (vulture aura). This bird, which feeds on dead flesh, did not return, on account of the great number of carcasses with which the earth, recently dried up, was strewed. Tezpi sent out other birds, one of which, the hummingbird, alone returned, holding in its beak a branch covered with leaves. Tezpi, seeing that fresh verdure began to clothe the soil, quitted his bark near the Mountain of Colhuacan."—Humb. Res. v. ii. p. 65. Clavigero's account corresponds in substance with this—Hist. Mex. v. i. p. 204.

§ "In the kingdom of Guatemala, the inhabitants of Teochiapan had preserved traditions that went back to the epochs of a great deluge."—Humb. v. i. p. 173.

|| Humboldt's Personal Narrative, vol. iv. p. 470.

¶ "They stated, that in this great deluge a man and woman saved

camarada figures of stars, of the sun, of tigers, and of crocodiles are traced, which the natives connected with the period of this deluge.* Humboldt appropriately remarks, that similar traditions exist among all the nations of the earth, and, like the relics of a vast shipwreck, are highly interesting in the philosophical study of our species.†

Ideas of the same sort existed in the Island of Cuba,‡ and Kotzebue found them among the rude Pagans of Kamtschatka, at the extremity of the Asian continent.§ The Peruvians preserved the memory of a general destruction, as far as their own country was concerned,|| which their neigh-

themselves on a high mountain, called Pamanaca, situated on the banks of the Asiveru; and casting behind them, over their heads, the fruit of the Mauritia palm-tree, they saw the seeds contained in those fruits produce men and women, *who repopled the earth.*"—Humb. ib. 471.

* "A few leagues from Encamarada, a rock, called Tepumereme, or the painted rock, rises in the midst of the Savannah. It displays resemblances of animals and symbolic figures resembling those we saw in going down the Oroonoko, at a small distance below Encamarada, near the town Caycara. Between the banks of the Cassiquiare and the Oroonoko, between Encamarada, the Capuchino, and Caycara, these hieroglyphic figures are often placed at great heights on the walls of rock, that could be accessible only by constructing very lofty scaffolds. When the natives were asked how these figures could have been sculptured, they answered, that at the period of the GREAT WATERS their fathers went to that height in boats."—Humb. Pers. Nar. p. 472, 3. The substance of the traditions respecting the destroyed races and the renovation of nature, is everywhere almost the same, although each nation gives it a local colouring. In the great continents, as in the smallest islands of the Pacific Ocean, it is always on the highest and nearest mountain that the remains of the human race were saved.—Humb. Trav.

† Humboldt adds, with great truth, "The traditions respecting the primitive state of the globe among all nations present a resemblance that fills us with astonishment. So many different languages belonging to branches which appear to have no connexion with each other, transmit the same fact to us."

‡ The Indians of Cuba related an account of an old man embarking in a canoe to escape a deluge.—I. Clav. Mex. p. 204. One of them told De Cabrera, that an old man, knowing that a flood was to come, built a vessel, and went into it, with his family and many animals. That he sent out a crow, which first stayed to feed on the dead animals; but afterward returned with a green branch.—Herrera.

§ Kotzebue informs us, "That they have a tradition of a universal deluge, and to this day point out the spot, on a lofty mountain, where Kutka is said to have stepped out of a boat, and peopled the world with human beings."—Kotz. 2d Voy. round the World. St. Peters, 1830.

|| Herrera states, that the Peruvians mentioned as an account received from their ancestors, that long before their Yncas a great deluge came from the sea. The land was overwhelmed, and all the people perished.

nours, the Guancas and others, also entertained.* In Brazil, there were also various traditions of the diluvian catastrophe, which, though agreeing in fact, differed in the circumstances attending it.† In Terra Firma it was also floating in the popular memory,‡ and equally so among the Iroquois in Canada, and at the mouth of the St. Lawrence.§

The Arrawak Indians, near the Essequibo and Mazaworry rivers, have preserved traditions both of the separate creation of the first male and female, and also of the deluge; and describe it as caused by the demoralization of mankind.||

In North America we find in the various Indian tribes or

* The same author notices that the Guancas of the vale of Xausea and the natives of Chiquito added, that some persons survived in the caves of the mountains and repopled the country according to one account; but others thought that all perished except six persons, who saved themselves on a float, and renewed the population.—Herr. Hist. Ind.

† Nieuhoff, in his Voyage to Brazil, narrates, that though the most barbarous of the inland Brazilians scarcely knew any thing of a Deity, they had notions of a universal deluge. These were, that the whole race of mankind was extirpated, except a man and his sister, who repopled the world. Mr. Thevet from others heard a more detailed and fantastic account, ascribing it to the hatred and warfare of two brothers against each other. The whole village was carried up into the sky, and on one of them striking the ground the flood burst out, covered all the earth, and destroyed all mankind but the two brothers, who, with their wives, ascended the highest mountains, and, as the waters came to them, saved themselves on the highest trees on their summit, and afterward formed two nations that peopled the world.

‡ Herrera notices the account of the inhabitants of Castilla del Ora, in Terra Firma, that when the universal deluge came, one man with his wife and children escaped in a canoe, and by them the world was replenished.

§ Hennepin informs us of their account, that their Messou or Orkon hunting one day, his dogs lost themselves in a great lake. The waters immediately flowed over the country, and soon covered the earth and overwhelmed all who were living on it.

|| Capt. Alexander, in his account of Mr. Hillhouse's Expedition up these rivers in 1830, states that the tradition of the origin of things among these Indians is, that the Great Spirit sat on a silk cotton tree and cut off pieces of bark, which he threw into the stream below him, and these becoming animated, took the form of the various animals; that man was last of all created; that a deep sleep fell upon him, but on being touched by the Deity he awoke, and found a wife by his side.

Their traditions also were, that the world becoming desperately wicked, was drowned by a flood; that only one man was saved in a canoe, and that he sent out a rat to discover if the waters had subsided, which returned with a head of Indian corn.—*Journ. Roy. Geo. Soc. v. ii. p. 70.*

nations, who spread over it, some memorial intimations of this great event. Captain Beechey found that the natives of CALIFORNIA had a tradition of the deluge.* The Koliouges, on the northwest coast of America, have also peculiar notions upon it.† Sir Alexander Mackenzie heard it from the Chippewyams.‡ The idea prevailed, but with fantastic additions, among the Cree Indians.§ Mr. West heard a similar account from the natives who attended his school on the Red river.|| In Western or New Caledonia, which was an unexplored country beyond the rocky mountains in these parts till Mr. Harmon visited them, he found a vague and wild tradition of the same catastrophe, with the singular addition of a fiery destruction.¶

* Capt. Beechey's Voy. v. ii. p. 78.

† They believed, "That to punish the crimes of the world, a deluge was sent, but that all did not die in it. Many saved themselves on very high mountains, in barks, and on rafts."—Bull. Univ. v. ii. p. 155.

‡ "They describe a deluge, when the water spread over the whole earth, except the highest mountains, on the tops of which they preserved themselves."—Mack. Trav. c. xviii.

§ Capt. Franklin also mentions of them and of the Dog-rib Indians, "They have a tradition of the deluge."—Journ. p. 160.

¶ Dr. Richardson remarks, that "The Crees all spoke of a UNIVERSAL DELUGE, caused by an attempt of the fish to drown Wasack-ootchacht, a kind of demi-god, with whom they had quarrelled. Having constructed a raft, he embarked with his family and all kinds of birds and beasts. After the flood had continued for some time, he ordered waterfowl to dive to the bottom. They were all drowned; but a muskrat having been despatched on the same errand, returned with a mouthful of mud, out of which Wasack-ootchacht formed a new earth."—Dr. Richardson's Account in Frankland's Journey to the Polar Sea, p. 73.

|| They told him that a universal deluge was commonly believed by all the Indians. They say, "When the flood came and destroyed the world, a very great man, called Wasack-koochack, made a large raft and embarked with otters, beavers, deer, and other kinds of animals. After it had floated for some time he put out an otter, which dived very deep without finding any bottom, and then a beaver; both were drowned. At last a musk brought up a little mud in its mouth, which he made into a new earth."—West's Journal, p. 131. He adds, "There appears to be a general belief of a flood among all the tribes of this vast continent."—Ib. p. 133.

¶ He states that "They believe that the earth was once entirely covered with water, and every thing destroyed but a muskrat, which, diving to the bottom, brought up some mud, that increased and grew to the present shape of the world. They say a fire spread over the whole, and destroyed every human being, with the exception of one man and one woman, who saved themselves by retiring into a deep cave in the mountains until the flames were extinguished."—Harmon's

In the islands of the South Sea, whose population had no connexion with the North American Indians, the belief of the deluge was preserved among them. Ancient traditions of it exist in the Sandwich Islands in various shapes.* In Tahiti, it was ascribed to the displeasure of the Deity at human misconduct.† It was mentioned in Eimeo,‡ and in a diffuser shape in Raiatea.§

Journal of Travels in the Interior of North America; Quart. Rev. No. 52, p. 415.

* Mr. Ellis, at Hawaii, heard, that "they were informed by their fathers that all the land had once been overflowed by the sea, except a small peak on the top of Mouna Kea, where two human beings were preserved from the destruction which overtook the rest."—Ellis, Hawaii, p. 451.

Mr. Matheson has transmitted another of these accounts. "Many thousand moons ago, a man fishing in the sea dragged up the Spirit of the Waters on his hook, who in his anger declared that he would cause a general deluge; but would allow him to escape, with his wife, to the summit of the mountain Mouna-roah, where he remained until the waters subsided."—Matheson's Brazil and Sandw. Isl.

† "In ancient time, Taaroa, their principal god, the creator of the world, being angry with men on account of their disobedience to his will, overturned the world into the sea, when the earth sunk in the waters, excepting a few projecting points, which, remaining above the surface, make the present cluster of islands."—Ellis, Polyn. v. ii. p. 57.

‡ The tradition of Eimeo states, that "after the inundation of the land, when the water subsided, a man landed from a canoe near Tiataepua, in their island, and erected a marae or altar in honour of his God."—Ib.

§ This also makes their Neptune Ruahahi to have been caught by a fisherman's hook, as he was sleeping in the coralline groves of the ocean, shortly after the first peopling of the world. He declared the land was criminal and should be destroyed. The man implored his forgiveness, and was ordered to go to a small island, while the others were destroyed. Some say he took a friend, with a dog, a pig, and a pair of fowls. The waters rose. The inhabitants fled to the mountains; these were then covered, and all perished but the fisherman and his company, who, as the waters retired, took up their abode on the main island, and became the progenitors of the present inhabitants. Their belief of this is unshaken.—Ib. p. 59.

LETTER XVIII.

Summary View of the Evidence which the Recapitulated Traditions of other Nations give as to the Universal Deluge—And its Concordance with the Geological Appearances.

MY DEAR SON,

HAVING perused these testimonial traditions from both ancient and modern times, and from all quarters of the globe, let us fairly and dispassionately ask ourselves,—not what we may choose or like to believe or to disbelieve,—but what is the right and rational conclusion to which they should lead us, as men seeking for truth ; valuing only what is true and real, and desirous to avoid all fallacies and prepossessions.

We observe, as we peruse them, a singular diversity of circumstances. This is an advantage to us in an inquiry into the certainty of the great event we are investigating ; for these differences and peculiarities satisfy us, that they are not copies from each other, as all uniformity may be. It is always possible that the exactly similar may be borrowed from what is so, but wherever variation begins, this possibility diminishes. The diminution increases with the difference ; and when the discrepancies become so great as those of India and North and South America are found to be, on comparing them with the accounts of antiquity and the ideas of the classical nations, the possibility of a copy ceases, and changes into that character which we denominate by the contrary term.

Convinced from this consideration that we have before us a large collection of independent traditions, what is the impartial judgment which our reasoning mind, according to its usual laws and operations in all our other researches and transactions, should and will naturally form on this subject ?

Is it possible for us, without forcing our reason out of its natural bias and tendency, on such evidence, to avoid concluding that there has been a general deluge, overwhelming the earth and that population upon it which preceded our present race ?

If the question was, whether there has been an invasion and destruction of Troy ; or whether Alexander the Great subdued the Persian empire, or whether Cyrus established it, should we hesitate one instant in accrediting either of these events, and all of them, on such a concurrence of testimony ; and should we not rather wonder at the mind that under any other feelings or influences should persist in denying them ? We have certainly no right to depreciate each other for entertaining contrary opinions to ourselves. This would be unreasonable, and an infringement of that benign and mutually respecting feeling with which all fellow-creatures should regard each other. My meaning is not, therefore, either to encourage self-opinion in ourselves or unbecoming notions of others, but simply to ask, if it would not be a rational deduction as to ourselves, that if we were to reject any of the great facts of history which came to our knowledge, with the confirming support of such a combination of traditions as attend the incident of the deluge, we should be judging on some impulses or impressions different from the desire to know the real truth on the investigated subject ? This deduction is warranted by the experience, that those who have acted with any analogy to this mode of conduct, have either been defective in their judging capacity, or have been wilfully supporting an extravagant conjecture for some personal purpose of their self-interest or self-love. The Père Hardouin's assertion that all our classics were forgeries ; Volney's idea that our Saviour and his apostles were but the sun and the twelve signs of the zodiac ; the declaration and belief of one of our contemporaries that the Grecian paganism and the divinities are the true deities and religion which we should adopt ; De Maillet's idea that men have sprung from fishes,* and many such like dreams which might be enumerated,† are instances of individual peculiarities, in which mind may be thought to be acting

* He maintained this wild idea in his *Telliamed*, published in 1748. Cuvier thus notices it : " De Maillet covered the whole globe with water for thousands of years. All terrestrial animals had been originally marine. Man himself was at first a fish ; and the author assures his readers that it is not uncommon to find in the ocean fishes which have not only become half-men, but which will some day become entire human beings."—Cuvier, *Fossil Bones*, v. i. p. 41.

† In this very year, 1834, I find an English traveller maintaining that animals grow up out of the earth !

in contradiction to reason and to evidence, without any personal injustice or affront to the defenders of such imaginations.

But the truth is, that no right mind which is not acting under prepossessions that turn it from the simple desire of calmly discerning what is true or most probable, has ever differed from the general sense, on the main outlines of the history of the world. A few have deviated so far into singularity as to call in question the Trojan war; but although this has nothing like such collateral corroborations as the occurrence of the deluge, yet the doubt and ingenuity of its impugnors have not shaken the general impression of its reality, and have the effect of seeming to be only a favourite chimera, a mental football, or a too hasty adoption of its supporters.

If such be our impressions as to the grand transactions of mankind, notwithstanding the minor amount of evidence on which their memorial rests; and if we act on the same intellectual principles in considering the traditional testimonies of the deluge, it appears to me that the lover and student of historical truth who allows nothing but the desire of ascertaining the reality of the fact to guide him, as far as at this late age of the world he can now discover it, can form but one conclusion on the topic we are considering; and this will be, that there has been such a general catastrophe before the present generations of mankind spread over the present surface of the earth. For in these facts, that the earth was so overflowed, that the anterior race perished as the waters prevailed, and that from a small surviving or preserved fragment, the human kind were renewed into the tribes and nations who have since been on the globe, all the historical and traditional accounts which have been cited coincide and agree. They all state or imply these main incidents, and these are the substantial points of knowledge which this subject requires us to entertain.

It is, however, important to remark, that several of them, very remote from each other,—Assyrian, Grecian, Roman, Sanscrit, South American, and the Polynesian islands,—nations, some of which could have had no communication with each other, also represent it as an event which the divine power purposely occasioned: and the reason for the exertion of it when given was, on account of the offences of the exist-

ing population.* Such a confirmation as this affords important verification of the Hebrew narrative of the causes and effects of the awful transaction ; and it is also favourable to the credit of the Mosaic account, that both North and South America should, as well as Greece and Chaldea, have traditions that birds or animals were sent out of their preserving vessel to ascertain the condition of the devastated earth,† and that several should mention the fact that animals were saved in it.‡

I cannot think that it comes within the compass of what we usually mean by possibility, that such numerous and separate traditions of a deluge should exist among so many unconnected nations, unless the great event had occurred, and the remembrance of it had descended from generation to generation. The real fact is the only cause that sufficiently accounts for them, to my judgment ; and unless that had taken place, they could not have been thus afloat. No local inundations would have produced them ; no one ever thinks of extending what are so, beyond their known vicinity. There may have been many lakes and over-floodings of water, and long continuances of it in many countries, both before and after the Noachian deluge. It is the occurrences of this kind which have misled some geologists to substitute these for that ; but both are independent of the other. No partial inundations would prevent the divine production of a universal one, when the time and expediency of that had arrived, and its tremendous operation neither supersedes nor disproves any local diffusions and depositions of the watery fluid, at any anterior or subsequent period. Baron Cuvier seems to think that there were partial predominances of water over various parts of the land before the general flood. There is nothing in the Mosaic history which discountenances such incidents ; and we may, without opposing that, believe any occurrences of this sort, which material nature may convincingly indicate. But *THAT DELUGE* which the Deity appointed and caused to come over the whole inhabited regions of the globe, for the purpose of ending the first race and

* See Notes * and † on p. 239, and * and † on p. 240 ; also, † and ‖ on p. 248, † on p. 249, ‖ on p. 253, † on p. 254, and *, †, and § on p. 255.

† See Notes * on p. 238, * on p. 239, and † on p. 241 ; also, † on p. 251, † on p. 252, ‖ on p. 253, and § and ‖ on p. 254.

‡ See Note *, and by implication †, on p. 241 ; also, † on p. 249, † on p. 251, † on p. 252, § and ‖ on p. 254, and § on p. 255.

state of things, and of introducing the second kinds of both, to be an advancing stage in the progressive formation of his human nature, stands out by itself from all the minor and subordinate ones : it has nothing to do with them, nor they with it.

Whatever of other kinds took place were in the course of nature's established and usual laws and agencies at that period. But the universal deluge was not a natural event, and could not have been produced in the ordinary state of things, or by its preserving and continuous laws. It was the special result of a special exertion of the divine will and power, for a special reason and for a specific end. It was a creative as well as a destructive operation—destructive as to all living things, in whom it extinguished the principle of life, and as to the preceding rocks and surface which it broke up and altered ; but creative as to the new masses and habitable ground which it deposited and spread—as to the new laws of human nature, and the new kinds and modification of plants and animals which it introduced : but it was by all these causes and effects, as distinct and different from all other inundations, as the skies are from the earth, or the ocean from the Alps or Pyrenees.

Be careful not to confound one thing with another, either in history or philosophy. Keep every fact, both of nature and man, in due classification and arrangement ; and place each in its proper station and order in the compartments of your recollection ; otherwise you will be frequently mistaking some things for others ; and will then reason very erroneously, from wrong materials, and on fallacious grounds.

You will have observed in the traditions, that each nation tended to localize some main incidents of the commotion within their own country and tribe ; and it is from this inclination of personal vanity that some sought to confine the great event solely to their own district, as if it exclusively magnified their personal importance. This is quite natural, and attests the strength of the belief, and is favourable to the reality of the occurrence. Thus the Chaldean account made the preserved patriarch a Chaldean king.* The Greeks deemed him to be a Grecian prince, and fixed on Greece as the great scene of the calamity, and thought that the waters

* See Note * on p. 238.

retired through a cavity near Athens, and that Mount Parnassus was the spot on which he was saved.* The Syrians claimed the chasm for the waters to be in Syria;† while the Armenian traditions asserted their Baris and Cordæan mountains to have been the ark's resting-place.‡

In the same national spirit, China represents the diluvian patriarch to have been a Chinese,§ and Hindostan a Hindoo prince.|| So Chili places the preserving mountain among her rocks.¶ The Mexican nations make Noah one of their immediate ancestors; ** as the other tribes of both South and North America localize him and the chief incidents respectively among themselves.††

In all these self-appropriations of the ancestor and scenery of the grand event, we perceive what we may be certain that each nation would not fail to do if the deluge had really taken place. Every one is desirous of applying to itself the distinction, which, in human estimation, arises from personages and incidents of great celebrity.

It was this feeling which made even our early forefathers adopt the idea, of Britain having been colonized by a Trojan prince; which has led Irish antiquaries to assert both a Phenician and a Spanish ancestry; and caused even the Saxons on the continent to claim the conquering Macedonians as their progenitors. Such pretensions are the excitement of national vanity common to all; and by existing, confirm the reality of the great event, to which the several populations are so zealous to attach themselves.

I think you will feel that we cannot discredit the deluge if we believe in Christianity, as soon as you perceive how solemnly it is alluded to as a real incident by those whose publicly-expressed ideas we cannot, under this direction of mind, but most deferentially revere.

Its unexpected suddenness is adduced as a representation of the manner in which the final consummation of earthly things will occur by Him, whose return to earth in visible sovereignty will produce this revolution.‡‡ His disciple Peter

* Notes † on p. 239, * on p. 240, † and ‡ on p. 242, and * on p. 243.

† Note † on p. 245.

‡ Notes || on p. 245, and * and † on p. 246.

§ Notes †, ‡, and §, on p. 247.

|| Notes *, †, ‡, and §, on p. 247, and *, †, ‡, §, and ||, on p. 248.

¶ Note * on p. 250. ** Notes †, ‡, and §, on p. 250.

†† See the other Notes of Letter XVII., from Note †, on p. 251, to the end.

‡‡ St. Matthew, xxiv. 37-9. St. Luke, xvii. 26, 27.

three times mentions it as an event which had occurred, and the preservation of Noah, as a special act of divine favour to him.* St. Paul refers to it in the same manner and with the same feelings;† and of the ancient Jewish prophets, it is three times solemnly noticed in the name of the Deity: once by Isaiah,‡ and twice by Ezekiel.§ It cannot therefore be doubted, that it is an authenticated portion of the sacred history of the world, and cannot be consistently rejected by any who believe the Jewish and Christian Scriptures. It is not one of those historical circumstances which it is immaterial whether we admit or question. It is a part of the divine revelations which we have received; and the scriptural references above cited may be taken as additional authorities for its certainty. It is therefore gratifying to find it attended with such confirming attestations as those which we have been surveying.

The narrations and traditions which have been enumerated show that there are no historical reasons for disbelieving the Mosaic deluge; but, on the contrary, sufficient memorial notices of it to justify our belief of it. The only question, therefore, to be disposed of, is, whether there are any adequate geological grounds for discrediting it?

Now, in the very outset of this inquiry, the suggestion spontaneously arises, at least in my mind, that what human traditions and sacred authority unite to establish, is not likely to be disproved by any natural facts, wherever nature is sufficiently understood for a valid opinion to be formed about it. It is very possible for objections to appear and to be maintained, while our knowledge is imperfect or superficial. I have felt this tendency and operation of mind in most of my studies. I have always found doubts and criticisms very apt to arise, and to keep possession of the thoughts, while my information was in the process of accumulation, and before I had gained an enlarged and complete view of the subject of my inquiry.

This must have occurred to all; and therefore it was just as natural for geology, in its growing state, to be made unfriendly to the diluvian catastrophe, as it was also natural for that opposition to be premature and erroneous. Until the mode and process of our rocky formations are much better

* St. Peter, 1 Ep. iii. 20. 2 Ep. ii. 5; iii. 6.

† Ep. Hebrews, xi. 7. ‡ Isaiah, liv. 9. § Ezekiel, xiv. 14. 20.

understood than they at present are, even by the most eminent of our geologists, many a wrong theory and conclusion will be conceived and maintained by them, notwithstanding their high talents and respectable acquisitions. Therefore any opinions at present entertained in hostility to the reality of the deluge, you may safely regard but as so much temporary hypothesis, which future science will put aside. If the deluge has actually occurred, the true geology, when attained, will as certainly both establish and explain it, as in the imperfect condition of their science, several able men have attacked and rejected it, and with their insufficient knowledge and active fancy could not, perhaps, help doing so.

My farther reasons for thinking that geology, even in its present state, does not, by any of its ascertained truths, call upon us to reject this important catastrophe, are these :—

The Mosaic history requires from geology the admission or the proof of these essential points :

That the earth has been a creation by God ;

That the rise of vegetation preceded the formation of the animal kingdom ;

That the aqueous animals and the birds were the first created of the sentient classes ;

That quadrupeds, cattle, reptiles, and insects, were afterward formed ;

That man was the last creation, and has not been on the earth longer than that series of time which the Scriptures indicate, and which, according to the Hebrew Pentateuch, has not exceeded 6000 years ;

That the first race of human beings was purposely ended by a deluge, on account of their demoralization ; and that this deluge was either universal over all the circumference of the globe, or at least extended to every part where men and animals were residing ;

And that a new race of human population, and renewed generations of the animal classes, were gradually multiplied and spread after the catastrophe had ended.

Now these requisitions, instead of being at variance with even our present degree of geological knowledge, are actually in accordance with it ; for the most ancient fossil remains are found to be those of vegetables, followed, and in some parts closely accompanied, by marine animals ; and both of these productions are separated by earthy matter from the

bones of quadrupeds and land animals ; thus manifesting that these were formed or diffused subsequently to the preceding. All these, according to the subterraneous remains, were distinct from our present plants and animals, and were destroyed before these arose. The quadruped remains, which most resemble our existing species, are in the uppermost beds of the destroyed world, and have clearly perished in water, and been buried in rocks that were formed amid a watery commotion, and no human remains have been discovered in the more ancient beds. All the successions of the rocks carry the marks of a deliberate creation from the granite upward. The testimony of geology being thus far, and in their essential matters, in harmony with the Mosaic history, it is my inference that the minor facts and circumstances will be found as capable of adjustment with it, as soon as the science, yet but in its healthy and growing childhood, has become sufficiently enlarged and matured. All opposing allegations are entitled to no higher rank than that of ingenious arguments, plausible conjectures, sanguine imaginations, and hasty inferences ; with no small proportion of controversial competitions, rather impatient of dissent.

It is a confirmation of these feelings that such men of modern science and established reputation as the celebrated Cuvier and Dr. Buckland, as well as others of great ability and information, have avowed their belief of the disputed catastrophe.* This conclusion satisfies my judgment that

* Among these, the published opinions of the Rev. W. Conybeare and Ad. Sedgwick entitle me to add their names to the distinguished geologists who have accredited the deluge ; but to my surprise I read in Mr. Boue's late publication, what I think must be as erroneous and unjust as to them, as it obviously is to the English clergy in general.

"The idea of a universal deluge, Mosaic or historical, is not sustainable. Such is the opinion of most of the geologists on the continent. The proofs of its absurdity are so evident, that for a long time the Lutheran clergy have given it up. At length the English clergy, the most tenacious of all, have surrendered their arms. They have at last acknowledged by the organ of Mr. Sedgwick and Mr. Conybeare, that if there have been deluges, they have not been general ; and that the Mosaic deluge, if it ever so took place as it is related, could in no case produce the ancient alluvions, or the pretended diluvium."

He cites as his authority for his assertion, "*Voyez le Discours de M. Sedgwick à la Société Géologique de Londres, pour 1831, et Ann. de Phil. Mars, 1831.*"—A Boue, *Mem. Geol. v. i. p. 149. Paris, 1832.*

Nothing can be more untrue than to say that the English clergy have given up the belief of the Mosaic deluge, or made any one their organ

there is nothing even at present in true geology, which calls upon us to disbelieve it, or which puts us under any necessity of opposing real science if we do not. This conviction settles my opinion that it is fully consistent with the greatest geological knowledge and sagacity to accredit it; and that with such scientific patronage in favour of its probability, it would be abandoning the rules of sound judgment not to let the sacred authorities, and the historical and traditional memorials of it, have their full and deciding impression. We find likewise that new facts are occurring which are likely to introduce new views among our intelligent geologists, and to cause material alterations to be made in many parts of their former theories, and which will bring them into greater coincidence with the Mosaic intimations.* Some of our men of science may err in having less regard for these than their truth and authority claim; but they are so active-minded and zealous in exploring and examining the rocky masses and remains, and so justly determined to abandon

to express such a renunciation. I do not think that either Mr. Sedgwick or Mr. Conybeare, men of deserved reputation, has ever relinquished the belief.

* The fossil remains in the limestone of Burdie House, near Edinburgh, are instances of the new facts and reasonings which the contents of a single rock may suddenly and unexpectedly introduce into geology, and of the alterations of many favourite theories which had been previously asserted. Dr. Hibbert showed this to differ materially from the common carboniferous limestone of marine origin, and to form a species of deposits of a fluviatile character. Among the organic fossils "were more particularly observed the remains of *fresh water* fish, resembling the cyprinidae. There also appeared to be in this deposit an immensity of very minute crustaceous and shell animals. Besides these animals, a remarkable variety of fossil plants, imbedded in the limestone, were exhibited, indicative of the vegetation of a tropical country. A tooth was found in a fragment of the rock two inches and a quarter in length, like that of a Saurian animal."

Mr. Conybeare truly characterized this as one of the most important discoveries lately made in geology.—Phil. Mag. Jan. 1834.

"It referred the existence of reptiles, allied more or less to the crocodile, to a period *much earlier* than had been generally supposed by geologists; and at the same time showed that these immense animals must have coexisted, coeval perhaps with the very earliest vegetable state of our globe. It was of importance also, as referring fluviatile deposits *so far back* as to a series of formations, amid which they had scarcely yet been imagined to exist; and had consequently given strength to opinions, then but newly entertained, of the existence of local deposits, such as those furnished by estuaries, or fresh water basins, in almost every geological group of the sedimentary order."—Lit. Gazette, 1834, p. 701.

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every notion which new occurrences disprove, that we can have no reason to doubt that in due time all that is authentic in sacred history, and all that has really taken place in nature, will be found in perfect harmony with each other, and that the phenomena will gradually come to light that will illustrate and reconcile both. Let us in the mean time patiently wait for this satisfying and enlightening result.

LETTER XIX.

Remarks on the Extravagant Systems of Geological Chronology—And on the impossibility of Natural Agencies forming the world without a Directing Intelligence.

THAT the present human race has arisen since the last great change which our globe has undergone, is the conclusion of some of the latest French geologists, who reason only from the appearances in the subterraneous strata and in their fossil remains.* This deduction corresponds with the Mosaic account, that Noah and his three sons were preserved from the deluge, and that every branch of the human population which has since existed, has originated from them.

* Mr. F. Cuvier says of his brother, the celebrated Baron Cuvier, "Every authentic observation that has been accumulated up to the present moment, has convincingly corroborated the conclusion which has been established by my brother, that the human species was *subsequent* to the last of the catastrophes which has laid bare our present continent."—Prelim. Observ. to Cuvier on Fossil Bones, 4th edit. Engl. 1834, p. 3. Mr. Alex. Brongniart likewise states his opinion, that "the last Geognostic period, during which the bark of the globe has been in a state of repose, has the commencement of its date at least 4000 years ago."—P. 9. "This state of repose constitutes the Jovian epocha," p. 31, which he calls "the post diluvian period."—Brongn. Tabl. des Terrains, p. 27. He places the beginning of his Jovian period at the birth of mankind.—P. 28. Mr. Boubée, Geological Professor at Paris in 1833, also states, that "Man appeared on the earth a little after this catastrophe;" but thinks, "that he was not existing on the earth before the great deluge; or, rather, that nothing proves that he was then in existence upon it."—Geol. Populaire, pp. 57, 58. He also prefers to suppose that *the universal deluge, which he admits, was more ancient than that mentioned by Moses.*

It has been inferred by some that there was no antediluvian race, because no fossil human bones of that antiquity have yet come to light ; but their absence does not disprove the existence of mankind between the creation and the deluge ; it only indicates that they were not living in those sites where these strata have been examined, as there are now many parts of Asia, Africa, and even America, without them. Human existence began in the east. The rocky beds of Asia have not yet been penetrated or examined like those of Europe ; nor is there any evidence that the antediluvian race were either a very numerous or a very dispersed population. They may have densely inhabited a few particular regions, or some of those islands which several geologists are inclined to consider as having composed the primitive dry land. It follows of course from these remarks, that until we know and explore the real localities in which they were dwelling, we shall not find any human fossil bones. Thus our present geological science does not invalidate the Hebrew history of the antediluvian world.*

We perceive that it is still the appointed law of nature in this respect, that in all the countries of the earth to which man has not spread, it shall be preoccupied universally by plants, and mostly by animals also ; everywhere, indeed, by birds and insects at least, and every sea by shellfish. We also find that the human population has always very gradually diffused itself ; and that in all the regions whose commencing population we have witnessed or can trace, they have had to clear the soil of its previous occupants, before they could dwell comfortably upon it. We may therefore be sure that the primeval state of all the antediluvian dry land was that of copious and successive vegetation, long before man could be on every part of it ; that animals must have enjoyed this provided feast long before he could reach it ;

* The Baron Cuvier's sensible remarks on this subject deserve citation :—"All these tend to confirm the assertion, that the human race did not exist in the countries where fossil bones are found, at the epoch of the revolutions which buried those bones ; but I do not wish to conclude that man did not exist previous to this epoch. He might have inhabited some confined tract of country, whence he repopulated the world after these terrible events. Perhaps the places in which he dwelt have been entirely swallowed up, and his bones buried at the bottom of the present seas, with the exception of the small number of individuals who have propagated the species."—Cuvier on Fossil Bones, v. i. p. 77.

and that wherever the waters were resting or flowing, fish, and saurians, and phocæ, and the testaceous and crustaceous tribes, and all kinds of aqueous plants, must have been its first inhabitants, and so have remained as long as man was not there. They were created to be so; they were formed to be his predecessors. He was the latest made; he always spreads himself far less rapidly than they do; they have often preceded him by many ages. The vast continent of New-Holland is an evidence of this. Although it is nearly as large as any of the before known quarters of the world, yet it is in the largest portion almost wholly uninhabited; a very thin and scattered population, in the rudest and most destitute state, are now found in wandering divisions upon it, in the present late period of our earthly chronology. No authenticated facts in geology carry the present mode and state of human society beyond that period at which the Jewish history places the deluge, from which the subsequent propagation of mankind began.* Geology and this history are, therefore, not at variance on this great point.

No one doubts or disputes that the various rocks and strata which compose our surface have been produced or deposited in succession, one after the other; the upper upon the lower at some intervals of time, greater or less. It is as generally admitted that at some periods after these depositions and formations, such of them as exhibit veins of granite, trap, or other matter, have been pierced and entered by these intruding substances. In like manner, if any of these rocks or beds have been raised up into hills or mountains, these elevations have been made after their masses had been deposited in the formation of the surface. Every geologist assenting to these facts, the only point on which differences of opinion have arisen concerning them, has been as to the time or times in which these several events took place. On this there is but little agreement, and it is on this subject that

* Baron Cuvier's ideas coincide with this view. "In closely examining what has taken place on the surface of the globe since it was left dry for the last time, whence continents have assumed their present form, at least in the highest parts, we clearly see that the last revolution, and consequently the establishment of present society, cannot be very ancient. It is one of those results, which, *though most clearly proved*, is the *least regarded*, in sound geology; a result the most valuable, as it unites in an unbroken chain, natural and civil history."—Cuvier *Foss. Bones*, p. 78.

some allow their imaginations to stretch into a credulity so extravagant, that we need not wonder at the tales and chimeras which more vulgar minds believe and propagate.

If it were not in print before our eyes, could we suppose that in this skeptical age, men of science, men of knowledge and reasoning, and who desire to be respected also for their judgment, should seriously teach and write that our earth has been existing, not as Moses indicates, 6000 years only, but 300,000! Not content with this lavish conjecture, one geologist of real talent proceeds to divide it into four periods,† and to assign to each of these an actual precision of duration, as if he were transcribing some ancient record, which had transmitted the chronology of the several periods to us.‡ He admits that man has not been on the globe above 6000 or 7000 years.§ The rest of his computed time he allots to the animals, vegetables, and unorganized matter, which preceded him; as if it could be probable to any rational mind that the Creator would have taken 60,000 years merely to form the primordial rocks—have then let the earth remain with vegetables, the sea and marine animals only, for 200,000 years, and then have added quadrupeds and the rest of the brute creation for 30,000 more, before he made his human beings upon it,—the only intelligent creatures for

* "Although the world is not eternal, it is nevertheless very ancient; and in calculating all the time that was required for the formation of the numerous beds which the globe presents to us, for the life and reproduction of all the animals and vegetables whose remains it contains, according to the time employed for the actual formation whose duration we know, we are forced to admit that the world is at least 300,000 years old."—Bouée's *Geol. Populaire*, p. 7. Paris, 1833.

† His Four Epoches are,—

1. The primitive state of the "incandescence du globe," when the atmosphere was all on fire, from which it gradually cooled.—P. 27-29.

2. The first appearance of organized beings, plants, and aquatic animals, and the formation of the coal beds, and the extinction and successive creation of those organized beings.—P. 31-36.

3. The appearance of land animals; increasing progression of the organic kingdom, and decrease of the inorganic.—P. 39-41.

4. The universal deluge; after which he places the first appearance of human beings.—P. 42-63.

‡ M. Bouée accompanies his book with a tableau of the different ages. In this he specifies, that the 1st epoch lasted 60,000 years; the 2d, 200,000; the 3d, 30,000; and the 4th, 8000 years.

§ "It is very true that man has only 6 or 7000 years of antiquity on the globe. Modern historical researches are now agreed on this point. The traditions which seemed to give him a much greater antiquity were founded only on imperfect observations."—*Ib.* p. 5.

whom the earthly system seems to have been devised and framed at all. I do not press this theory peculiarly against this gentleman, because he has done no more than imitate many scientific predecessors, who have indulged in such dreams; I merely adduce him as one of the latest of those able men who have done so, to show with what inveteracy ideas of this sort cling to the human mind, when they have once gained an admission into it. Their long retention shows that no talents and no science will lead us to a perception of the true chronology of our globe; and that we must either receive it from the sacred authority which has declared it to us, or abandon our minds to all the wild and baseless theories which individual excitement may invent and propagate, without any one having greater probability or a better foundation than another. Without its superior guide, human speculations will on this point only lead us into a chaos of undigested dreams and conflicting hypotheses; for whenever fact is deserted, or cannot be had for the deciding appeal, no one thinks another's conjectures to be preferable to his own.*

How illusory all such suppositions are, and therefore how unworthy of the attention of rational men, is strongly shown by the circumstance which Cuvier notices. One author inferred

* But although Mr. Boubée's calculations are sufficiently startling, they have been outdone in our own island. Mr. McCulloch, in 1831, thinks it reasonable to say, "We shall not exceed, far from it, did we allow 200,000 years for the production of the coal series of Newcastle, with all its rocky strata. A Scottish lake does not shoal at the rate of half a foot in a century; and that country presents a vertical depth of far more than 3000 feet in the single series of the oldest sandstone. No sound geologist will accuse a computer of exceeding, if he allows 600,000 years for the production of this series alone."

I can only say on this, that sound geologists and sound reasoners must be very different beings, according to my apprehension of what is reasonable. But I am not quite certain that the author is serious in what he writes; for he proceeds to enlarge till he seems to smile at his own exaggerations, for he adds,—

"Yet what are the coal deposits; and what the oldest sandstone, compared to the entire mass of the strata? Let the computer measure the Appenine and the Jura. Let him, if he can trust Pallas, measure the successive strata of 60 miles in depth, which he believes himself to have ascertained; and then he may renew his computations: while, when he has summed the whole, his labour is not terminated. But let the reader supply the figures, which it is useless to exhibit, SINCE THEY CANNOT BE TRUE."—McCulloch, *Geology*, v. i. p. 507. These last five words express the true character of all this sort of calculation.

from the appearances in the mines of Elba, that they had been worked 40,000 years ago. Another, after examining the same thing, reduces this time to 5000 years. Thus the eyes and judgment of one saw, in the same natural circumstances, only what 5000 years could have accomplished, while those of the other inferred that 40,000 years were requisite to produce them.* All the speculative conclusions of the extravagant duration of the earth, from the consideration of the nature and remains of its rocky beds and their organic fossils, are precisely of this character. The assumed period is made large or small, according to the fancy of the individual who theorizes upon them; and yet what stronger demonstration can we have that such conjectures have no real foundation at all, when very different periods are thought to be equally inferrible from the same phenomena? Such contrary deductions by men of abilities and science from the same natural facts, seem to me to be satisfactory evidence that these phenomena, though they truly mark the succession, give no evidence at all of the chronology of the deposits and formations.†

The differences of opinion of able men on the subject of the deluge, when they contemplate the same phenomena of nature, are a convincing testimony to a cautious judgment that if we abandon our sacred authorities as to the certainty of this event, we shall only surrender ourselves to the fluctuating decisions of individual inferences and imaginations, or to those of our own mind, as new deductions are made from new appearances that occur, or as new names arise to impress us, or as new arguments for the time being are suggested. We are really in this state now

* "A recent writer pretends that the mines of the Island of the Elba, to judge from their wastes, must have been explored above 40,000 years ago: while another author, who has also examined these wastes with much attention, reduces the interval to somewhat more than 5000 years; supposing that the ancients wrought out every year one fourth only of the quantity that is wrought out in the present day."—Cuvier's *Essay on the Theory of the Earth*, p. 170.—Jameson's *Transl.*

† Buffon was one of those who began the extravagant chronology of the earth, by his gratuitous fancy that the earth had been a fiery comet or red hot splinter of the sun, which he calculated would take 20 or 30,000 years to cool. This unfounded imagination was soon adopted, and reasoned upon as a fact; and it soon became fashionable to discountenance the Mosaic chronology, in order that these groundless dreams might be substituted instead.

if we put aside the Mosaic record. We are exactly, as to the creation and the deluge, independent of their pilotage, as Cicero was on the Doity himself, when he wrote his "*Natura Deorum*." He saw a number of conflicting opinibns on both sides of the question. He perceived that each was supported by men of great names and talents. He had no sacred guide before him, to which, in such a wilderness of fancies, conjectures, appearances, and arguments, he could resort for the discernment and certitude of what was true on this great topic. He felt his own mind affected by all these different reasonings and authorities, and therefore he thought it wise to have no certain opinion about the matter ; and so concluded his elaborate investigations.

If he were now alive, and he or any man of equal capacity and impartiality were to write on the creation or the deluge, solely from what he read in geologists and saw in the rocks and fossils, without knowing or believing what the sacred records deliver to us concerning them, he would compose only such another work of opposing notions, opposing facts, opposing reasoning upon them, and opposing inferences from them. He would find men of equal talent and knowledge at variance with each other, and depreciating each other for being of a contrary opinion to themselves. He would state that geologists of such eminence as Dr. Buckland, Mr. W. Conybeare, Mr. McCulloch, Mr. Fairholme, and many other men of equal ability and science in the country, have declared their belief in a universal deluge, and that abroad, M. Cuvier, M. d'Onalius, M. de Beaumont, and several others, have as publicly announced a similar opinion. But the world presents a catalogue of names as respected, who from looking at nature with a disbelief of the Mosaic history, have made and support a contrary deduction ; and thus if he sought to settle his judgment on human authorities, or on natural phenomena only, it would be but to end in Cicero's conclusion, that the subject was difficult and obscure, but that one of the opinions might be rather more probable than the other.

The mistaken reasonings on this important point which some observers of nature have raised from the facts of their own personal knowledge, and their own mistaken perceptions of these facts, have been very numerous within the last hundred years. Brydone is a striking instance of this. In my

youth he was used as a leading authority for overturning the Mosaic history, because his observation and inference as to Mount Etna led, and were meant to lead to the impression that the state of the lava there proved the Sicilian district of the earth to have been about 14,000 years in existence.* It is now universally admitted and has been shown that his sensorial perception of the fact he noticed was a fallacy; as well as his deduction from it.†

But is it true, as a physical fact, that lava takes two thousand years to be decomposed by natural agencies into earth? In the same parts of the world, scientific men have found that seven hundred years, and even five hundred years have been sufficient to cause this effect. So deceptive are the calculations and reasonings of geologists on which they base their gigantic chronologies.‡

One of the chief causes of the suggestion of these vast chronologies, is the supposed length of time which the rocks, as they are superimposed on each other, must have taken to harden and become consolidated before the new ones were deposited upon them, or could have been sustained, and the

* Brydone, in his tour to Sicily, alleged the authority of the Canon Recupero for believing, that for a bed of lava to have a coating of soil from the decomposition of its surface, 2000 years were required to elapse; and having observed that in the neighbourhood of Etna there were seven lava beds lying over one another, with strata of rich earth between them, the deduction was made that this mountain must have been, from these circumstances, at least 14,000 years old.

† Dr. Daubeny, in his *Geology of Sicily*, thus describes the beds of lava in this pit at *Acti Reale*:—"At all events, Brydone has been grossly deceived in imagining that the seven beds of lava, seen lying one above another near the spot, have been sufficiently decomposed into vegetable mould. The substance which really intervenes between the beds, being nothing more than a sort of ferruginous tuff, just similar to what would be produced by a shower of volcanic ashes, such as usually precedes or follows an eruption of lava, mixed up with mud, or consolidated by rain. Of course his inference with respect to the antiquity of the globe falls to the ground, as being founded on the fact of the decomposition of so many beds of lava, which turns out to be altogether a mistake."—*Ed. Phil. Journ.* v. xiii. p. 266. Dr. Ure, *Geol.* xvii. *Introd.*

‡ M. D'Aubuisson remarks of Etna, that the lava of the year 1157 is now covered with twelve inches of vegetable earth proceeding from its own decomposition; and that the lava of 1329 is covered with eight inches.—D'Aubuisson, *Geognosie*, t. 2, p. 592, 3. Dr. Ure, *xvii.* On comparing these two dates we find that 172 years were sufficient for the decomposition of four inches of lava at Etna; while from local or other causes peculiar to Auvergne, several of the lavas there have, in some part, not changed at all.—D'Aub. *ib.* Nothing therefore as to chronology can be justly inferred from such things.

great quantity of some of the testaceous and other organic fossils which are found in several of the underlying masses.

But here again appear manifest illusion and unwarranted deductions; do the rocks take centuries or myriads of ages to become hardened and solid? We have a striking instance to the contrary in granite itself. Mr. Kirwan mentions an incident which proves that even granite will agglutinate from its own sand, even amid running water, in seventy years.*

It will also be a proper question to make, whether the induration of the underlying rocks is at all necessary to occur before others are deposited upon them? Here again nature itself supplies us with the answer; that this previous hardening is not essential, and may never have taken place; because it is found that even now, at this late age of the world, granite itself, in many parts, is existing under the earth in a soft state, with other strata superimposed upon it.† This fact occurs in Scotland as well as in Cornwall and elsewhere;‡ nor is it confined to this primitive and compact rock; for the subterraneous sandstone occurs in this soft state.§ Quartz likewise.|| So limestone occurs

* His words are in his volume published in 1794. "That granite may be produced, at this day, from the agglutination of its own sand, we have an evident proof in the mole constructed in the Oder in the year 1722. It is 350 feet in length, 54 in height, of that breadth at top, and 144 at bottom. The walls were made of blocks of granite, fastened with iron cramps; the chinks stopped with moss, and the space between the walls filled with granite sand.

"THIS SAND, by the oozing of the water impregnated with iron, or other causes, is now at last rendered so hard and compact, as to prevent any more water from traversing it, and cannot be distinguished from natural granite."—Hartz. 91. Kirwan's Elem. Miner. vol. i. p. 340.

† Mr. Bakewell says, "Granite varies in its hardness. I was told in Cornwall, that, got from a considerable depth in the quarry, it is so soft when first raised, that it can be easily sawed into blocks; but it soon acquires great hardness by exposure to the air. In the mountains of Auvergne the granite is extremely soft, and the felspar appears earthy. This is probably the original state of the stone."—Bakewell, Geol. p. 103. Dr. Boase also mentions, "the alternation of soft and hard granite, so common in several parts of Cornwall. The former frequently contains parallel contemporaneous veins of quartz and shori, which abound in tin."—Boase's Prim. Geol. p. 23.

‡ "The deep-seated granite veins in the quarries of Rubislaw, near Aberdeen, are not only flexible, but so soft, as to receive an impression; becoming hard after exposure to air."—Dr. McCull. Geol. v. i. p. 124.

§ "In Sky, I have seen a sandstone which could be moulded like dough when first found."—"There is a sandstone from China, which, when immersed in water, may be compressed by the hand."—Ib. p. 124.

|| "In Sky, I have found masses of granular quartz or sandstone

with this peculiar impressibility.* The slates likewise have it,† and even the basalts differ in this respect;‡ and this circumstance is found to occur in the most distant regions of the globe.§

Even the gem-like minerals are found to be in this condition,|| so that the conjecture is not unreasonable, that all the rocks of the earth may have been in this state; especially such as were formed with the accompaniment or under the agency of water.¶ This fact disproves the idea of the earth being a red-hot mass gradually cooled down.

The rational inference from these circumstances is, that no long intervals of time were required for the successive deposition or super-imposition of any of these masses, but that every one might have been laid upon the other as soon as it suited the Creator's plan that it should be; this indeed seems obvious from another consideration, that mass presses mass, according to its gravity. The upper weight condenses the lower, if it be at all yielding, into the most compact state

which could be moulded by the hand when first taken from the earth, but which in the same manner became solid in a few days."—McCull. Geol. v. i. p. 204.

* The well-known limestone in Sunderland is flexible."—Ib. p. 124.

† The Scottish slates are softer under the earth than when taken from it, and soon harden in the air. "They are subdivided into single slabs; a process which ought to be gone through within an hour or two after quarrying, as the rock otherwise becomes too dry to be split to advantage. The slates are blue and green. The green is rather softer, though found in the same bed."—Mr. Blacke's Report, p. 101-4.

‡ "Mr. Williams says, 'I have seen quarries of this rock dug for the high roads, where the softer friable matter exceeded the hard masses in quantity.'"—Will. Miner. v. i. p. 416.

§ A letter from Freemantle, on the Swan river, in Australia, in 1834, stated, "Stone is found at two feet under the surface of the ground. It is soft when first dug, and hardens when exposed to the air."—Standard, 12th July 1834. So in New-Zealand, the jade or greenstone, near the Shannon, "is soft when first dug up, but by exposure to the air becomes as hard as agate, and some transparent."—Metropol. 1834, p. 324.

|| "Minerals, rigid and hard as glass in our cabinets, are often flexible and soft in their native beds; a case, which in my own experience occurs in asbestos, sahite, tremolite, and chalcedony; and which is said also to happen in the beryl."—McCull. v. i. p. 120.

¶ "It is probable that strata formed under water may have once been flexible."—McCull. vol. i. p. 124.—"If it has not been oftener observed in rocks, it is because we have rarely any access to them, except near the surface, where they have already lost their water.—It is, in fact, known, that many are not only soft, but partially flexible when wet or when first procured from the quarry."—Ib.

which the pressure of its gravity can force it to. It must do this, and it cannot do more; and it will thus operate, whether the upper is superimposed on the lower at the interval of a day, or a year, or of ten thousand years; therefore all the rocks may have been laid on each other, according to their natural laws, as quickly as the Creator chose to order their succession; no length of time was essential to this operation.

As you coolly reflect on what is most likely to be the true chronology of nature, you will probably be disposed to think, that all these extraordinary opinions and supputations of time, for the origination and past duration of our world, really arise from one common source; from a disbelief or forgetfulness of the great truth which these Letters urge—namely, that earth, and all its organic beings, are the creation of God: his planned and deliberate creations; the specific, designed, and effectuated formations of his all-potent intelligence. You will perceive that the vast lapses and successions of time which some geologists contend for, rest upon the assumption and hypothesis that all the rocks and masses of the earth have been formed from what they term natural causes; and that by these they mean such laws, sequences, changes, or phenomena as are now in ordinary or perceptible operation. Supposing that none other than these have been concerned in the construction of our globe; observing how these act now, and reasoning from them, and the changes they cause, they infer, that agents and agencies like these, operating in the same ratio and manner, must have been as long as they have computed in composing the world we live in into the state in which we find it.

Now, on ideas and deductions of this sort, the remark is obvious, that if no other cause or power has framed our world than the natural agencies with which we have become visibly acquainted, it is quite immaterial what length of time the advocates for this notion choose to demand, or its opponents to concede. They may claim, and we may grant, as many myriads or millions of ages as they prefer. For if there has not been a Creator, it is not of the least consequence to us how the world has come together, nor is it possible for us ever to know; as in that case there could not be any revelation of the truth to us. One man has a right to indulge his fancy as much as another; each will be in

collision with the rest ; every one will support his own theory, and dispute every other ; and neither will have any certainty, superiority, or foundation, or be entitled to any authoritative predominance.

But on such an hypothesis as that of the omission or denial of a creation and a Creator, we may also say, that not only three or six hundred thousand years would elapse before such a world could be framed, but that as many myriads of millions of years and ages would also occur, before such a construction could take place. For, however they might multiply their series, the truth would still remain, that none of the elements of matter could, in any flux of time, not even in an eternity, move and arrange themselves into that skilful, scientific, and admirable fabric ; or into those combinations, adaptations, and system of things which constitute our earth, and its planetary system, and their organic occupants.

It is even a contradiction to suppose that the natural causes now in operation could have formed our world. It is from its completed formation that they arise, and are what they are. They are the produced, not the producers. Natural causes are the result of creation, not its makers. They arise from the construction, compositions, positions, and mutual relations and arranged agencies of the created things ; but they have not fabricated these. All the laws of nature in our world are posterior to its structure, not the anterior framers of it. It is the artificial creation of all things by an intelligent Artificer, which gives to all natural laws and causes their very existence. They are not in being until the fabric and the mechanism are completed ; until each is placed in such relative positions, and in such compounds, and endued with such properties, and associated with such moving agencies, as we can become cognizant of, and from which they originate.

Take water as an instance. This is a special and specific composition of a definite quantity of oxygen and a definite quantity of hydrogen. There can be no laws of water until it is made ; but oxygen and hydrogen no more tend to form water, nor of themselves could form it, than any other of the numerous things which also consist of them. Neither oxygen nor hydrogen could, or ever would move itself in that exact proportion, and so unite with the

other as to form water. To suppose them able to separate themselves from their several elementary accumulations in the precise quantities necessary to form the aqueous fluid, and to agree together to combine in these quantities only, and in firm and lasting union, and specifically to form water, is to give to each of them a mind, a thought, a foresight, a plan, a will, a resolution, and a spontaneous self-motive for this special purpose, which would make every particle of each an intelligent, thinking, and choosing being. This idea would be preposterous. Some designing and intellectual being, exterior to their matter, must have been existing when water was formed; who conceived the idea of such a substance as water, and that it should be an important part of his earthly fabric; who saw that such a mixture, in such proportions of oxygen and hydrogen, would form the aqueous substance; and who, therefore, by special action of his will and power, caused the due quantities of each element to separate from the rest, to move towards each other, and to enter into that contact and adhesive combination, by whose continuity water would arise.

As soon as water was thus formed the properties and the laws of water would begin, but not before. They could not have any anterior existence. They are not in the oxygen; they are not in the hydrogen. They could not be before water was. This is a clear and decided example, how the laws of nature and the properties of things arise from creation, and subsequent to it, and never form or produce it; for the same reasoning is applicable to every substance of nature, and to all its laws and agencies.

The laws of water are also not the laws of water in the abstract only, but are likewise the particular laws which its properties occasion or display, in the special circumstances under which it is placed. When they act with the laws of gravity as a mass, the operation, and therefore the law of that operation, depend upon the quantity of the fluid which is in action. The very laws of the ocean waves arise from a union and co-operation with the laws and force of the agitating winds. The breeze and the ripple do not produce the same effects, nor act under the same laws, as the rolling swell which heaves its masses without a wind, nor as the overwhelming billows which the tempestuous hurricane is agitating: nor are the laws of the same fluid in the placid

and resting lake, nor those of the descending river, the exact similars of the preceding.

The properties of water, as a definite compound of oxygen and hydrogen, are the same in every particle of its substance ; but all its other laws and operations arise from the circumstances in which it is placed, and the other agencies with which it is for the time associated. Thus water in a mist—in a marsh—in the form of ice, or in a boiling state, has distinct laws, and acts to produce very different effects in each of these conditions ; but these laws accrue to it *after* it has come into the situation.

Be not then deceived by words which really have no meaning. No laws of nature have constructed any part of the essential frame of our globe ; for they arise from its construction, and could not cause that which has caused them to be what they are. They are the offspring of creation in every department, and not its parent. They are the inventions, the planned agents and instruments of its Author ; the appointed derivatives from his system of things ; the chosen subordinate operations which he willed and ordained to arise from it, and therefore has caused to arise from the compositions, and dispositions, and regulated state of the constructed fabric. They were selected and appointed to continue and carry on the chosen and framed scheme and course of things ; to actuate or accompany the movements of each specific part ; to produce the effects that were meant to follow, and to be the usual and consistent order of nature on the earth. They act to uphold and preserve this, and to do from time to time what in the great plan of its subsistence, and for the time of its duration, was to be consecutively effected.

The subsistent agencies, those which continue, carry on, preserve, and perpetuate what exist, cannot be those which created or which destroy. What formed, has formed ; and, having formed, must have ceased to form ; or else it has not formed. The forming process having ended in the formation, the forming agencies and instrumentalities closed their operation with it, and cannot now be acting. It cannot be the forming agencies that we now see operating in nature ; for, if they were still in action, we should find little worlds, like little children, issuing from our parent world, or germinating upon it like the buds from a tree, or their young from the polypus.

Nothing seems more clear and certain to our intellects or apprehension than this reasoning and this conclusion. When the ship is sailing in her course, the building agencies are not operating upon her. These constructed her in the dock-yard; but having finished their work, their framing agency ceased. She was launched into the waves, and is now moving and subsisting under other agencies, quite distinct from those by which she was put together. Winds, and sails, and ropes, and masts, and yards; the rudder, the waves, the seamen and their officers, are now the agencies that are affecting her; as the shipwright and naval architect were those agents by whom she was built. So, as the forming agencies of a world operated to form it, they ceased their work as soon as the formation was completed; and thus we see that it is impossible that any natural agencies now in operation on our earth can be those which framed it. Let us then not think of accounting for the origin of nature by any physical laws or agencies which are now acting upon it or within it. What she now wants and is using, must be conserving and continuous, not framing agencies. She is formed as she was meant to be, many centuries ago; and the upholding, cohering, maintaining, and continuing agencies, such as will carry on her created system and subsisting course of things, are those which must now be operating within and upon her.

I have called your attention to these important principles of our great argument, because so many men of real talent and science persist, in their geological reasonings, to write and conjecture, as if all our rocky formations and earthy strata were solely the effects of the natural laws and properties of things. Hence one gentleman says, "there is no reason to suppose that the antediluvian sea formed its deposits more rapidly than the seas do at present, and therefore hundreds, perhaps thousands of ages, were occupied by this deposition." Thus it is also urged, that "sixteen centuries are far too short a period for the deposition of beds of the enormous thickness which we find the regular strata to possess." In like manner it is declared, "the secondary and tertiary formation bear traces of having occupied hundreds, perhaps thousands of ages in their deposition."* In all ideas of this

* These remarks are taken from MS. observations of a living author. They are in more detail in several published writings.

sort, the authors look only at the material substances and their properties; and omit entirely the supposition of a devising forming, commanding, and operating mind; and yet not one single natural law, agency, substance, or formation exists, which such a pre-existing mind has not deliberately and intentionally made; and which, therefore, has not at all times essentially operated to do within the periods that he thought fit, every successive action, and effect, and formation, which his intelligence meant to take place. The Creator never left it to material things to create for him, or to move sluggishly and casually into the masses of the globe. He formed the earth as he designed to form it: and his omnipotence has, in all its structure, acted to execute the plans of his omniscient, and all-providing, and all-adjusting sagacity.

Nor must we deviate into the error of supposing, that instead of a planned and deliberate creation, all living things have originated of themselves, from such primeval molecules as we find in the smallest animalculæ which the microscope detects in various fluids; and have been nothing else but a continual series of transformations from these into larger and larger, and more and more complicated in their organizations, until at last, after undergoing these changes for myriads of ages, they have come to be the various orders, genera, and species of animals which now form the brute inhabitants of our globe.* The advocates of this imagination feel that no moderate sequence of time would accomplish such wonderful mutations as these, and therefore stretch their chronology to an almost endless period, in order to allow a duration long enough for the production of such an effect: as if any succession of years could effect that which never can be achieved but by the omnipotence which they disclaim or supersede. The answer to such dreams is given

* The reveries of De Maillet, published a century ago, and of Buffon in 1778, have been, in our days, enlarged upon by La Marek, and are still maintained by his followers. M. F. Cuvier thus briefly states them as now upheld by some. "The theory of Buffon supposed living organic molecules, which becoming developed, each according to conditions peculiar to it, after the lapse of thousands upon thousands of years, are themselves modified into as many myriads of times, and have, at last, been brought into that state in which they were able to produce this world of living animals that now covers the surface of our globe, from the creatures that can be only rendered visible by the aid of the microscope."—F. Cuvier's Prelim. Disc. to Baron Cuvier's Fossil Bones, 4th ed. Lond. v. 1. p. 7.

conclusively by Baron Cuvier's brother ; that there never has been an instance of such a change, and therefore it is a lawless conjecture, formed in wilful contradiction to all recorded knowledge, and to all existing experience.*

It is on the fossil remains, and the succession of plants, and of the small marine animals, and of interposed strata, and on apparent successions of fresh water and seawater overflowings in some particular parts, as in the chalk or calcareous basins or formations of France and England, that many have raised up an anti-Mosaic chronology. The limits and remaining topics of this work will not allow me to go into that detail of facts and reasonings which satisfies me, that erroneous conclusions have been formed on these points from insufficient and sometimes misapprehended premises. But I am convinced, after a deliberate judgment, that in opposing the authentic facts of revelation, they are consigning themselves to future censure and neglect. It was an old Roman remark, that what is true, time confirms, and obliterates what is otherwise. It has already brought to light many phenomena which have thrown down several former fallacies ; it will yet disclose others to us, which will subvert all the newer mistakes that are now so strongly maintained. The fossil remains recently discovered in the Burdie House limestone, near Edinburgh, alluded to in the preceding Letter,† are a proof that some of our present geological theories must be greatly modified, as a larger examination of nature reveals more fully our Creator's subterraneous operations to us.‡

* "The truth really is this : There is no fact whatever, of this description, among the records of science. For no person in the world has ever seen any species transform its state of existence, to any extent or in any shape, in order to be converted, either totally or even partially, into another species"—Prel. Dis. p. 8. "Neither has there been a single case known, throughout the world, in which one of our dogs has been found turned into a wolf, or a jackal, or a fox. There is no example in the records of natural history of a horse having assumed the character of an ass, or an ass taking on that of a zebra. Never did we find a single instance in which any one variety of our goats was metamorphosed into sheep, or *vice versa*."—Ib. p. 10.

† See page 285, note *.

‡ Dr. Roget, at the close of his late valuable work, justly says, "The pursuit of remote and often fanciful analogies has, by many of the continental physiologists, been carried to an unwarrantable and extravagant length : for the scope which is given to the imagination in these seductive speculations, tends rather to obstruct than to advance the progress

LETTER XX.

New Formation or Adjustment of the Surface, after the Deluge, so as to produce the Soils fit for Human Residence and Cultivation—And for the present system of Vegetable and Animal Nature.

MY DEAR SYDNEY,

THAT the present surface of the earth on which we are living was not, in all its regions, that primeval surface on which the first plants vegetated, the organic remains in several of the subterraneous rocks satisfactorily evince. The exterior masses of our globe, to the lowest depth that we have been able to explore, appear to consist of a succession of rocks, which have been traced and named, and of which you had a summary notice in the seventh and eighteenth of my former Letters, with a brief intimation of the vegetable and animal fossils which had been found among them. It would be too great a digression from the main and chosen subject of the present correspondence to enter into a review of the geological construction of our earth, although it is an important compartment of its sacred history. But my other topics, and the limits which I have fixed for these pages, compel me to abstain from it, and only to desire you to bear

of real knowledge. By confining our inquiries to more legitimate objects, we shall avoid the delusion into which one of the disciples of this transcendental school appears to have fallen, when he announces with exultation, that the simple laws he has discovered have now explained the universe: nor shall we be disposed to lend a more patient ear to the more presumptuous reveries of another system-builder, who, by assuming that there exists in organized matter an inherent tendency to perfectibility, fancies that he can supersede the operations of divine agency."

Dr. Roget closes his gratifying task with this admirable paragraph. "Happily there has been vouchsafed to us from a higher source, a pure and heavenly light to guide our faltering steps, and animate our fainting spirit, in this dark and dreary search, revealing those truths which it imports us most of all to know; giving to morality higher sanctions; elevating our hopes and affections to nobler objects than belong to earth, and inspiring more exalted themes of thanksgiving and of praise."—*Roget, An. & Veg. Phy. vol. ii. p. 639-41.*

mind that the rocks and strata which we have attained to now are distinguishable by a natural separation into two great divisions. Those which, containing no organic remains, give thereby evidence that they were formed and laid down before plants and animals were created ; and those which, containing in several of their series and localities fossil remains of organic life, must have been made and deposited at a subsequent period. The first are called the primordial or primary rocks, of which the chief members are granite, gneiss, and mica slate ; to which some minor and subordinate ones are in several places attached.

These primordial rocks constitute the greatest bulk of our surface masses. The granite formation appearing everywhere, and often uncovered by others, presents to us many indications that it is the foundation rock, on which all the others have been placed ; and that it encompasses the whole circuit of the globe. Not so universal as this, but the next to it in extent and lying upon it, are the gneiss rocks, which, in several countries, predominate on the visible surface ; and still less general, yet more so than any other, the mica slate formation appears resting upon the gneiss, where that has preceded it, or on the granite, where no gneiss has been deposited.

Upon these have been placed those which have been called transition and intermediate in their lower masses ; and secondary in the upper ones ; but to all of which we may apply the term secondary, to distinguish them from a later series, which have been termed tertiary and diluvial. They comprise principally the slate formations, the grauwacke, and old and new red sandstones ; the mountain and magnesian limestones ; the oolites and lias, up to the great chalk beds with some others less remarkable.

On these the tertiary and diluvial strata have been deposited, which are more immediately connected with the deluge, as it is in some of these, always nearest the present surface, that the fossil remains of quadrupeds and land animals have been found ; which may be presumed to have been those which perished in that overwhelming catastrophe which we have been recently considering.

These recollections will be sufficient for my present object, which is to lead your attention to the fact, that the great operation and intended result of the deluge was

lay a new surface on many parts of the antediluvian one, and to form that peculiar configuration and kind of habitable ground which the human race and our accompanying plants and animals have ever since been occupying and subsisting on.

In forming the new surface of the earth, it was peculiarly important to the future subsistence of the renewed human race, that the convulsions and agitations of the deluge should be so directed, that such earthy masses should be on the uppermost superficies, and in such a fragmentary and comminuted state, as would afterward suit and produce that vegetation, those herbs, shrubs, roots, and trees, from which our subsistence, conveniences, and comforts were afterward to arise. This event never could be a matter of course, because any rock, any sort of ground will not do. The sterile granite, the sandy desert, the flinty rock, the watery marsh, the hard limestone, the mere clay, the gravel, the unbroken lava, or the stony ground, will not furnish mankind with what they need for their food and welfare. The earth is suffered in many parts to exhibit all these appearances, in some portions, as if to show us that undirected sequences of things, and what are called chance-formations, would not provide for the human race those supplies, without which they could not increase their numbers, or would do so, but to drag on a miserable life, and to remain in a destitution like that of the Australian savages.*

Nor will every species of soil produce every kind of vegetation. Animals may need only grass; but it was intended that man should feed on corn, rice, and many other nutritious plants and roots that will only grow or flourish on the soil which is adapted respectively to them. The trees also that were to exist for his benefit, and for that of the bird classes, and of the brute animals that live in the shade and forests, equally require suitable ground.† It was therefore expedient that

* Dr. Prout very appositely says, that "it is the business of the geologist to point out the changes which our earth has evidently undergone, before it arrived at its present condition:—and to show that all these changes have not resulted from chance; but from the agency of an intelligent Being, operating with some ulterior purpose, and according to certain laws, to which he had chosen to restrict himself."—Dr. Prout's *Brid. Trent* p. 178-9.

† "Plants and trees, the roots of which are fibrous and hard, and capable of penetrating deep into the earth, will vegetate to advantage in

a plan should be settled, what the subsistence of man, after the deluge, should consist of, and that the preceding surface should be so broken up or adapted, and its ruins so modified and intermingled, that the new deposits from those commotions and changes should be such as would everywhere nourish and yield to the human race those species and diversities of plants of all sorts, which their intended subsistence would require.*

Let us see, from a few facts, what was necessary to be done and provided for in this respect.

The antediluvian vegetation was very different from the present. This is the statement of the most eminent of the modern geologists; and the phenomena in the fossil matters of the earth have suggested, and justify the supposition. The difference was of two kinds; it was that of a tropical character, implying a temperature like that of the torrid zone or equatorial regions, and displaying that largeness of size which is only now found in regions where that degree of heat prevails;† and it was also not of the leguminous species; not the corn plants, or the vegetables which now constitute the food of man,—but it was of the reedy, fern-like, grassy, more aquatic and puny kinds, such as are adapted for the nutrition of brute animals; and obviously by its nature indicating that these were then living or predominating in those regions where the imbedded remains of this character appear.‡

Mankind were then in some small parts of the globe which have not yet been explored; and the rest of its surface was

almost all common soils that are moderately dry, and that do not contain a very great excess of vegetable matter. I found the soil taken from field at Sheffield-place, in Sussex, remarkable for producing flourish oaks, to consist of six parts of sand and one part of clay and finely divided matter—100 parts of the whole sort produced, siliceous 54, aluminous 28, carbonate of lime 3, oxyde of iron 5, water 3, decomposing vegetable matter 4."—Sir H. Davy's Analysis of Soils, p. 15.

* Dr. Prout adds, "that the geologist should also demonstrate the very convulsions and changes we owe all that boundless view of sea and land, of mountain and plain, of hill and valley; all the less admixture of rocks, of strata, and of soils, so essential to the scene of the present order of things; without which the world were a mass of crystals; or one dreary monotonous void, totally unfit for the present race of organized beings, and particularly as a residence for man."—Brid. Tr. p. 180.

† See the first vol. of this History, p. 179 *et seq.*

‡ See first vol. p. 174 *et seq.*

occupied by seas, lakes, vegetation, and the various orders of the animated creation, among which the human race had not spread.

This being the state of the antediluvian superficies of the earth, it was essential, if man was to be its general resident, and to place his settlements and colonies in all parts of the surface, instead of forming only one or more dense population, in a few particular sites, that the general surface should be altered; that it should be taken out of its antediluvian form and condition, and be put into that state which would everywhere be fitted for the growth and fertility of the various articles of food which mankind were to subsist on and to derive pleasure from. Both these results were intended, and were therefore to be provided for. It was not only meant that the new earth should produce what would efficiently nourish the human race;—one single plant, a root, oats only, or potatoes alone, would have been sufficient for that, as grass is for the sheep and cattle;—it was also a part of the divine plan, that the aliment of man should become a large part of his daily enjoyment; and therefore, in order that the pleasures from it might be more multiplied, that a great variety of nutritious vegetation should be provided for him, so that he should have both abundance and diversity to choose from, and to intermingle or alternate, as he might choose to raise, cultivate, and use. For the accomplishment of this benign purpose, a peculiar formation and adaptation would be necessary of the upper surface of the ground he was to cultivate, and of the soil and rocks underneath that, because the growth and productiveness of vegetation depend not only on the nature of the earth in which the seed or root is deposited, but also on the subsoil; on the species of the strata, which lie immediately below the matter in which the plant begins to shoot. This subsoil is next in importance to the main upper soil, in order to provide and continue the fertility of the cultivated ground.*

These recollections will show you how much thought and

* "The productiveness of soil must be influenced by the nature of the subsoil. Thus a sandy soil may sometimes owe its fertility to the power of the subsoil to retain water; and an absorbent clayey soil may occasionally be prevented from being barren, in a moist climate, by the influence of a substratum of sand and gravel."—Sir H. Davy, *Anal.* p. 14. "Many fields contain, beneath the surface, a subsoil well adapted to make the upper stratum for ever fertile."—Lance's *Golden Farmer*, p. 53.

care were required to accompany and superintend the awful movements of the diluvian destructions, in order that such a new surface might be deposited from them, as would cause the renewed form of human nature to be, under the circumstances, and with those laws of life, and materials of subsistence, comfort, convenience, and happiness, as well as under also the means and sources of discipline, which have ever since attended human society.

But before the new surface could be composed, the older one had to be correspondently operated upon. The new surface was not a new creation; it had to be made out of the earth which had been created. No fresh matter was formed, because a due modification of the existing substances would provide the necessary materials; a new state and disposition of these were all that was requisite. But for this purpose, masses were to be broken up and comminuted, in order that their particles might be in a condition which could be moulded by the fluidity into the proper form of deposited strata, or to be intermingled wherever mixtures became necessary, or to have the power and facility of enveloping and imbedding the vegetable and animal remains which were meant to be preserved for the inspection and knowledge of those investigating populations, who, like those of modern times, make the history of physical nature their study, and who would be curious to explore the condition of the ancient earth and of its primeval inhabitants. The process that was necessary to effectuate all the objects to which we have been alluding, required the exertion of great intelligence and foresight; and having to act on a circumference of nearly 24,000 miles, must have been a stupendous process, inferior only in its vastness, universality, and multifarious operations, to the creation itself.

What are the necessary ingredients of an agricultural soil? Those who have studied the laws of husbandry, give us the explicit information that it is always constituted mainly of three materials, whose proportions may vary, but of which neither is entirely absent, unless the particular vegetation requires only the others.

These general constituents of productive soil, from whose intermixture the fertility of our vegetation arises, are clay, sand, and lime.* A small proportion of other matter, of va-

* "All soils, or nine tenths of them, are constituted of the three fol-

rious kinds, is also combined with them ; sometimes metallic oxydes, and sometimes those which are termed alkalis and acids.*

As the quantities of the principal earths vary, the soil assumes a new character, and receives a specific denomination, according to the predominating material.†

Chymists have analyzed the ground in various parts which has been found to be most productive of the plants which are used for human subsistence, and find that they are composed of the materials above mentioned. Sir Humphrey Davy's experiments gave this result from an East Lothian farm ;‡ and he states another, of corn ground, near Paris ;§ and a third from Somersetshire land.¶

To make soils of this description, it was therefore essential that the upper bed of the new surface should consist of the due mixtures of these three earths, and therefore that

lowing ingredients ; CLAY, or argillaceous earth ; SAND, or siliceous earth ; LIMZ, or calcareous earth. The other one-tenth may be considered as made up of small portions of magnesia, barytes, or some other earths ; with about 20 metals in various states of union."—Lance's Golden Farmer, p. 8.

* "The two principal metals are iron and manganese ; and are always found mixed with earth in the state of rust, or oxydized metal, which constitutes the colouring matter of all soils. To these may be added the three alkalis, potash, soda, and ammonia, and eight principal acids ; which admixtures make up the thousand varieties of soil."—Ib.

† "The three earths, when mixed in various proportions, constitute the common distinctions of land denominated a clay, a sand, or a chalk, and a limestone soil. When the clay predominates over the two others it is designated a clay marl ; when the chalk predominates it is a chalk or lime marl ; and when the sand constitutes the principal portion, it is called a light soil or loam. These three ingredients may be united in a thousand different proportions."—Ib.

‡ "A very fertile soil from Ormiston in East Lothian, afforded me in 100 parts, 11 parts of mild calcareous earth, 25 parts of siliceous sand, 45 parts of finely divided clay, 4 of water, and 9 of decomposed animal and vegetable matter, and also a small quantity of phosphate of lime. The soil was of very fine texture, and contained very few stones or vegetable fibres. Phosphate of lime is found in wheat, oats, and barley."

—Sir H. Davy, *Anal. Soils*, p. 14.

§ M. Tillet, in some experiments on soils at Paris, found that three eighths clay, two eighths river sand, and three eighths parings of limestone were very proper for wheat.—Ib. p. 15.

¶ "A soil from the lowlands of Somersetshire, celebrated for producing excellent crops of wheat and beans, without manure, I found to consist of one ninth sand, chiefly siliceous, eight ninths calcareous marl, tinged with iron, and about five parts in the hundred of vegetable matter. I could not detect in it any phosphate or sulphate of lime."—Ib.

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they should be all brought into that position, and be likewise in that comminuted state, that their particles should be small enough, and could be so intermingled, as to suit the vegetating qualities of the plants.

One of the products of the deluge, and one of the more recent formations of our surface-rocks, is the new red sandstone, allowed by all to be a later deposit than the old red sandstone, or than the carboniferous strata. But it has been found that this peculiar composition of earthy matter, obviously a compound from the fragments of earlier masses, is remarkably fitted for the fertile production of the most valuable corn plants.* It is largely diffused in England, and rewards the farmer's tillage with good harvests at the least expense.†

As my space will only allow me to glance on these interesting topics, I will not pursue this subject farther, as I have only meant to bring it so far before you that you may yourself, at some future period, make it a part of your geological studies, if you should have time and inclination to do so.

In the formation of that surface which was to remain permanently for the use of man and animals after their renewal, we may be sure that nothing was left to chance. The turbulent agitation would be disorderly turbulence and confusing violence, only to an uninstructed observer; and can be deemed such by us, solely from our ignorance or forgetfulness of the superintending Creator. The comfort and welfare, nay, the very existence of mankind, depended on there being such a surface made from the commotion as they could inhabit, cultivate, and derive subsistence from;

* "Many districts in the west of England do not require any sort of manure; the red soils particularly. The best soil in England for the produce of wheat, or indeed for any other grain, is the RED MARL; the NEW RED SANDSTONE of geologists."—Lance, G. Farmer, p. 14.

† "This soil extends from Devonshire, through Somerset, Gloucester, Worcester, Warwick, Shropshire, Stafford, and Cheshire, branching to the east through parts of Leicester, Nottingham, and Yorkshire. In many parts of this district the farmers scarcely ever put on their land any sort of animal or vegetable manure. Lime is their principal dressing."—"So congenial is it to the produce of wheat, that in particular seasons, the old stools will throw up a second crop the succeeding year."—Lance, *ib.* p. 15. Mr. J. Dickson, of Walton, confirms this in his Letter. "With respect to the soil which produced the second crop of wheat from the old root, I can assure you it was a fact; and had I left it to ripen, I have no doubt I should have had 15 bushels per acre, which I consider a fair average crop upon the soil where it grew."—*ib.*

with such an atmosphere, temperature, and seasons, and climates, as they could breathe and live in, and such a resulting course of things as would suit and promote their moral and intellectual formation. No casual or natural movements or results could provide or ensure these: plan, direction, control, and government; wisdom adequate to design what was proper, and power sufficient to execute what was devised, were essentially requisite. We may therefore be certain, that the mighty commotion was in every part vigilantly and efficaciously overruled and guided, with the most foreseeing sagacity and the most adapting care.

The consideration of what the new races of mankind were to be in numbers, state, and nature, and future forms of society, and habits of intercourse, and various localizations, modes of, and means of happiness, must have been benignly attended to, because they have been most benignantly provided for. The new additions to the old surface, and the changes and new dispositions of the fragmentary masses, which were moved by torrents and tumultuous waves, as they rolled or rushed along, would be everywhere only such as suited the future purposes of the presiding Deity, and would be therefore actuated and governed conformably to these. This assumption is the natural inference, from the fact of a creating Divinity, interested in the wellbeing of his creatures; providing for their welfare while he permitted their existence, and executing his own designs by efficient means and instruments. A Deity not providential, is, to us, no Deity at all.

The importance of a special arrangement and composition of a habitable and cultivable surface for our welfare, appears from the fact that neither of the primordial rocks could support our present vegetation. GRANITE admits lichens to grow upon it,* but will not nourish herbs, grass, trees, or corn.† When it decomposes it is favourable to vines,‡ and

* At the Horticultural Society in Sept. 1834, a piece of granite was produced with a very fragrant lichen upon it, the *chlorolepus lolithus*.

† Captain Ross found the district in the Arctic Regions, which he named Boothia, to be composed of granite rocks of various kinds, and destitute of vegetation. So in Africa, Captain Owen describes the Dassen Island, near the Zaire, as "formed of rugged masses of granite, and absolutely sterile."—Voy. v. ii. p. 268.

‡ Mr. C. Redding, in his Treatise on modern Wines, mentions, that granite decomposed, and quartz, in favourable sites, offer good vine land.

admits the commencement of other vegetation, which increases as length of time makes a growing humus upon it.*

Gneiss is also a barren rock ; † but the feldspar in gneiss is often decomposed, and passes into clay ; ‡ then some kind of plants begin to appear upon it. §

Mica slate is also infertile in its natural state, but by disintegrating more easily than either gneiss or granite, becomes, as it decomposes, more susceptible of vegetation. ||

It is with the rocks and strata which have been imposed upon the primordial, that our present vegetation decidedly begins. "CLAY SLATE is more favourable to vegetation than any of the three preceding rocks. It is observed that the quantity of vegetation increases from granite to clay slate." ¶ Hence in Cornwall and Devon, wherever that kind

—"Hermitage was first grown among granitic rocks and stones broken smaller by art, and little or no dressing was used."

* Thus the granite near Plymouth, which has been subjected to the action of weather, displays a comparative fertility in grass. "But it is said by gentlemen possessing estates on the granite, and my observation agrees with it, that trees, after reaching a certain height, rise no farther ; spreading and twisting their branches without proportionate increase of trunk. In Westmans Wood, a plot of oaks, supposed to be a thousand years standing, the largest less than a man's waist, and within 20 feet high, is an extreme instance."—Trans. Plym. Instit.

† Mr. Flint says of New-York : "Its island is composed chiefly of gneiss. Whenever the gneiss shows itself on the surface it is barren and desolate. Scarcely can a cedar or a sumach find sustenance for its roots in the crevices of the rock."—Trav. in Am. 42. In his Journey over the Northern Regions of America, Dr. Richardson remarks : "Gneiss was the most extensively distributed on our track, and always attended with a very scanty vegetation."—P. 535. "The gneiss re-appeared, presenting the genuine barren ground, hills, and precipices, together with their vegetable associates ; *cenomyce* ; *rangiferina* ; *certraria nivalis* ; *cornicularia ochroleuca* ; *doufourea arctica* ; *arbutus alpina*, *rhododendron lapponicum* ; *empetrum nigrum* ; plants which seem to characterize the barren grounds."—Frankl. Journ. p. 534. "The soil is favourable to these and to some congenerous lichens : but very inimical to every other species of vegetation."—Ib. 520.

‡ Kirwan's Geol. v. i. p. 347.

§ "In many other countries even the granitic gneiss decomposes as readily as some granites, forming a deep and rich soil ; as in Guernsey, and also in Aberdeenshire, remarkable for the destruction of all its rocks, and for the great depth of its untransported alluvia."—McCull. v. ii. p. 154.

|| "This rock often presents considerable fissures, and mouldering more readily than gneiss, is favourable to vegetation : the lower clefts and precipices are often covered with trees."—Ib. p. 157.

¶ Jameson, Miner. v. iii. p. 124. "Mountains of slate are covered with verdure on their declivities, as they contain less siliceous, and a more equal admixture of the earth favourable to vegetation."—Bakew. Geol.

of slate which they call killas lies upon the granite, a flourishing vegetation is seen.*

But limestone is as important to prolific vegetation as clay; it was therefore necessary to provide this in due abundance, and to place it so near the surface, as to be disintegrated enough to mingle with the other earths, and to be useable by man. This has been admirably accomplished in the last disposition of our surface. It is in every country in a sufficient quantity for its fertilizing benefit,† and due provision has also been made, that the primordial rocks should everywhere be so broken and comminuted, as to furnish every region with a competent proportion of sandy soil; a due mixture of which is highly serviceable to the growth

124. "As clay slate generally decomposes readily into clay, of different degrees of tenacity, it presents a great variety of soil, favourable both to agriculture and the growth of wood."—McCull. v. ii. p. 192.

* "At Buckland, on the Dart, where the killas runs in a trough between two granite mountains, the vivid green of the turf, and the rich wood running up the acclivities, contrast strikingly with the pale herbage and bald crowns of its over-topping neighbours. At Yalland estate some fine trees appeared in the midst of the granite. On approaching them, they were found to be growing in a patch of the killas; not a tree spreading out to either side."—Prideaux, Trans. Plymouth Instit.

† Mr. Flint mentions this effect in several of the new states of North America. "The soil in East Tennessee has uncommon proportions of dissolved lime, and nitrate of lime, mixed with it, which give it a great share of fertility."—Flint, Am. Geol. p. 335. In Kentucky, "Under its great valley, at a depth of from three to ten feet, is a substratum of limestone. So much dissolved lime is mixed with the soil, as to impart to it a warm and forcing quality, which, when the earth is sufficiently moist, imparts an inexpressible freshness and vigour to the vegetation."—Ib. 347. The Mississippi Valley. "From its character of recent formation; from the prevalence of limestone everywhere; from the decomposition it has undergone and is constantly undergoing; and from the considerable proportion of decomposed limestone in the soil, probably results its uncommon fertility."—Ib. p. 17. Of the Missouri State he mentions: "The warmth and looseness of the soil, and the large proportion of dissolved limestone in it; and even the dryness of the atmosphere, render it an admirable country for wheat. Twenty-five bushels an acre are an average crop, though it sometimes runs as high as thirty."—Ib. 288.

The animal-made lime rocks are as beneficial in the Arkansas territory. "In the whole depth vast quantities of seashells appear. In a state of pulverization, they are mixed with the soil, and communicate a very great fertility to it."—Flint, N. Am. p. 280.

Captain Franklin observed the same effect near the Arctic Regions at Cumberland House. "The land around it is low, but the soil, from having a considerable mixture of limestone, is good, and capable of producing abundance of corn, and vegetables of every description."—Journ. 55.

and abundance of our botanical riches ;* indeed sand enters largely into the composition of all grasses and straws.† It is very favourable to the growth of the cotton plant.‡

The plan having been settled in the divine economy of earthly things, that the animal kingdom should subsist principally on grass, it became an indispensable point that this should be everywhere provided for them where they were meant to be. Most kindly has this been managed, and by the sagacious contrivance, that grasses should not be one species of plant suited to one kind of soil only ; but that they should be multiplied into many distinct sorts, and that each of the decomposed rocks should thus have grasses adapted to it, so as to vegetate on the peculiar soil it makes ; hence “ a grass can be found adapted to the soil, let it be ever so sterile or ever so fruitful.”§ The quantity of grass

* The Missouri State, in North America, is an instance of this. “ The land here contains a greater proportion of SAND, is more loamy and friable, and the soil not so stiff. The tracts where we find the clayey soils of Kentucky and Ohio are small. The bottoms of the Missouri are generally loamy, with a large proportion of sand. But even where the proportion of sand seems in excess, the soil is of the richest character : and at first more productive than that of the Upper Mississippi.”—Flint, Geol. 287.

† In England, “ the clay soils are generally covered with timber ; the sand and limestone surface is occupied as arable land ; and the alluvium as meadow.”—Lance, Gold. Farm. 52. “ Land, the principal part of which was sand, has from the peculiar union of the grasses, and a plentiful supply of water, fattened bullocks of 160 stone and wintered 400 sheep per acre.”—Ib. p. 41.

‡ “ The whole matter of barley and its straw contains more sandy particles than any other grain cultivated by the British farmer. Sir H. Davy found that two canes rubbed together produced a light ; but not so when the epidermis was taken off. This he found had the property of silex ; so had straws and grasses.”—Ib. p. 17.

§ “ Cotton succeeds in light sandy soils, moderately moist. Volcanic soils are found best to agree with the cotton plant. The soil next in rank, favourable to its growth, is a fine sand, whose particles are held together by a small portion of clay or calcareous earth ; particularly if mixed with decomposed vegetable matter.”—Porter's Tropical Agric.

¶ Lance, p. 39. M. Sinclair says, “ There are upward of 130 distinct species of grasses, besides varieties, native to Great Britain. There is no variety of soil, intermediate between the high rock or the blowing sand, down to the marsh, the bog, even water itself, but is provided, by the bountiful hand of nature, with grasses peculiarly adapted to grow and remain permanent on each particular soil and site.

“ The sorts combined vary according to the nature of the soil. If SAND is the principal ingredient, then we find fescue grass, smooth fescue, fine-bent, creeping soft, tuft-leaved bent, crested dog's tail, smooth stalked meadow, meadow soft grass.

upon a small space, and its productiveness, evince the exuberant principle on which the bountiful Creator has formed and provided this order of vegetable nature.*

The basaltic and trap rocks have been so formed, both as to their component substance and mode of cohesion, that they shall be decomposable, and in their decomposed state, shall also administer soil that will suit and promote vegetation of some kind or other.† The lava of volcanoes also in time decomposes and becomes an earthy matter, in which herbs and trees find a soil that sustains them.‡

The provisions, and adaptations, and varieties of kind of inventions for the production, on every sort of soil, and

* CALcareous soils abound with the rough-headed cocksfoot grass, meadow fescue, hard fescue, perennial rye, upright perennial, brome, yellow oat, sheep's fescue.

† Argillaceous soils encourage meadow or timothy grass; Pacey's improved rye grass, meadow foxtail, rib grass or lamb's tongue florin, creeping bent, tall oat grass, and others."—Sinclair on *Lance*, p. 40.

‡ "A soil mixed of the three principal earths has been found to have on a foot square 22 distinct species and 1100 distinct roots of individual plants; and this pasture has fattened one large ox and three sheep per acre in the season"—*Lance*, p. 41. But "to maintain proper herbage in a field, care should be taken that the hedges are kept free from weeds, or they will soon occupy the vacant spaces between the roots of the grasses."—"Clover is found to flourish most where there is a sulphate of lime in the mixture."—*Ib.* This last remark shows the use of gypsum among the strata, as this is a sulphate of lime.

† "Basalt is very subject to decomposition; particularly those varieties which incline to wacke and amygdaloid. The earth which is formed from the decomposition of basalt has a greasy feel. The great fruitfulness of basalt countries is owing to the basaltic earth."—Jameson, *Min.* v. iii. p. 188. Capt. Owen observed near Cape St. Sebastian, Madagascar: "The immediate vicinity of this bay was formed of huge misshapen columns of basalt, covered with forest trees and long grass, where herds of wild cattle were seen grazing in fearless security."—Owen, *Voy.* v. ii. p. 185.

‡ Dr. Clarke mentions in his *Travels*, that in Galilee, "in all the descent towards Tiberias, the soil is black and seems to have resulted from the decomposition of rocks which have a volcanic appearance." In the Sandwich Islands Mr. Ellis found the surface in some parts entirely covered with a rich mould formed by decayed vegetable matter and decomposed lava.—*Tour in Hawaii*, p. 46. Where the lava was indurated it was barren, "yet wherever the volcanic matters have undergone any degree of decomposition, the sides of the mountains, as well as the ravines by which they are intersected, are covered with shrubs and trees."—*Ib.* p. 8. So he found vegetation on the extinct craters. "Some of these craters appeared to have reposed for ages, as trees of considerable size were growing on their sides, and many of them were covered with earth and clothed with verdure."—*Ib.* 57.

species of rock, of those trees of our fields and forests which supply us with such beautiful scenery, and essential conveniences, and which, at the same time, are the comfortable homes and support of the bird and insect classes, and of so many quadrupeds, have not been less numerous or beneficent. Such care has been taken in the adjustment of soil to tree, and tree to soil, that every kind of rock that decomposes so much as to afford any penetrable matter for roots to extend in, sustains and furnishes some useful or pleasing trunks and foliage.* So fitly and adaptedly has the vegetable structure been made for the earthy masses of our planet, that "plants and trees, the roots of which are fibrous and hard, and capable of penetrating deep into the earth, will vegetate to advantage in almost all common soils that are moderately dry, and which do not contain a very great excess of vegetable matter."†

We cannot doubt, as we study the present nature of our surface, that it has been most carefully adapted to develop and nourish its intended vegetative offspring.‡

* Thus though the country round Fort Providence, on the Great Slave Lake in North America, consists almost entirely of coarse-grained granite. "the surface is generally naked, yet in the valleys between its hills a few spruce, aspen, and birch-trees grow, together with a variety of shrubs and berry-bearing plants."—Frankl. Journ. p. 209. "Three fourths of all vines are grown on hills; and wines of the first character are made from vines that flourish among stones and pieces of rock. No wine of tolerable quality is grown on rich and highly-dressed land."—C. Redding on Wines. "Between Rocky and Carp Lake the granite contains many beds of mica slate, passing into clay slate; yet the country is tolerably well wooded. White spruce occupies the rocky situations. *pinus banksiana* the sandy spots, aspen the low moist plains."—Franklin, p. 520. "The soil of the country about Hayes river nourishes a pretty thick forest, consisting chiefly of spruces, larches, and poplars but the trees are small, as the subsoil is perpetually frozen."—Ib. 49. On a farm in Llanvan parish in Wales two very lofty lime-trees or linden are growing on limestone. "The elm grows most luxuriantly the red sandstone soil, without planting and without care. The oak grows best in the stiff blue clay. The beech is best on the limestone brash."—Lance, Gold. F. p. 15.

† Sir H. Davy's Analysis of Soils, p. 15.

‡ "If there was ever a time when the materials composing this globe were collected into solid masses, such a condition must have excelled organic life. The formation of the soil has been apparently a work of time, and the result of the gradual attrition of the solid materials posing the crust of the globe. Hence the formation of soil has probably been always progressive, and is still going on. Besides this attrition, the harder materials of our globe seem to have suffered *disintegration* during the periodic convulsions formerly mentioned

But one of the provisions most essential to all vegetation is, that wherever this is to appear there should be always a due quantity of water, for the presence of this even gives fertility to a barren desert.*

A surprising quantity of devising care, and an adjusted deposition and arrangement of the rocks of the earth and water, could alone have produced that universality of vegetation which delights us in every region of the earth. How this is so successfully and so permanently effected, I do not pretend to know or explain; but I see a wondrous system of skill and bounty in perpetual action to produce it; and all by exact, suited, definite, specific, and impulsive, yet limited agency. Clouds are made to form, collect, condense, move, and dissolve into rain, but always to send down only that quantity of water, annually, which is wanted; not more, and not less. What would be injurious to man, animals, and plants, is carried off by rivers, or absorbed in the soil; yet enough is always on the surface to sustain vegetable life and health. Some kinds of earth, like sand, let it all pass through them, without retaining any; others, as clay, will not let it permeate them, but detain it among them, which would be, if general, as pernicious as to retain none. Hence a most scientific disposition and arrangement have been made and are maintained, as to the strata which form our cultivated soil, and the subsoils under it, that everywhere, just what is wanted in this respect is done and perpetuated, and what ought not to take place is prevented.†

these, the different comminuted materials have been evidently mixed and scattered, and finally deposited over the surface of the whole earth, so as to give occasion to that infinite variety which everywhere prevails."—Dr. Prout, *Bridg. Tr.* 365.

* Capt. Burnes repeatedly found the fact verified in traversing the desert of Bockhara. In the middle of the barren desert of the Oxus he came suddenly to the oasis of Kurahee, which nature had thus made; here he found "trees groaning with fruit, and some lofty poplars. Never were the blessings of water more apparent than in this spot, which must otherwise have been a barren waste. On the banks of the rivulet and its branches every thing is verdant and beautiful. Away from them, all is sandy and sterile."—Burnes's *Journ.* v. i. p. 263.

† "Different vegetation prevails in different parts of the country. In some parts of England the apple and pear are seen growing spontaneously in every hedge-row. In other parts they will not flourish even with the utmost care. Some plants will flourish only on a calcareous soil, as a few of the orchis tribe in our country, and the *teucrium montanum* in Switzerland. Others will grow only in salt marshes, as the

By this skilful adjustment, the earth is ever clothed with that abundant supply and succession of herbage, grasses, and trees, which, with unerring constancy, provide food and pleasure to all its sentient creatures that subsist upon it, although their million numbers far exceed the powers of any comprehensible arithmetic to express.*

salzolas and the salicornias. Some flourish in seawater; some in fresh—to others, water is so prejudicial that they can exist nowhere unless on bare rocks or in arid deserts. The larger number of plants prefer sunshine. Some are most vigorous in the shade, others are only found in absolute shade. There is not however a soil, however barren, nor a rock, however flinty, that has not its appropriate plant.”—Dr. Prout, p. 366-8.

* “The latest discoveries in the vegetative process are ably stated by Dr. Lindley, in his Report on the Philosophy of Botany at Cambridge in 1831. From this I select the following facts:—

“That plants have an ascending and a descending current of their sap or fluids.

“That dicotyledonous plants increase by an addition to the circumference.

“That wood is a deposite in some way connected with the action of the leaves.

“That the quantity of wood formed is in direct proportion to the number of leaves that are evolved, and to their healthy action; and where no leaves are formed neither is wood deposited.

“In all plants there are two distinct, simultaneous systems of growth; the cellular and the fibro-vascular, of which the former is horizontal, and the latter vertical. The cellular gives origin to the pith, the medullary rays, and the principal part of the cortical integument. The fibro-vascular to the wood and a portion of the bark.

“Buds are exclusively generated by the cellular system; while roots are evolved from the fibro-vascular system.

“Wood is organized matter generated by the leaves and sent downward by them.

“The opening of the anthers is not a mere act of chance, but the admirably contrived result of the maturity of the pollen, when the pollen has acquired its full development.

“Tubes are projected into the style by the pollen.

“Dr. Brown has demonstrated the universal presence of a passage through the integuments of the ovulum at the point of the nucleus.

“It is at the point of the nucleus that the nascent embryo makes its appearance.

“The contents of the pollen pass down the pollen tubes. There is a power of motion in the granules thus emitted.

“Ovula seem to be buds.”

Report Brit. Assoc. in 1833, p. 27-54.

LETTER XXI.

Appointment and Adaptation of the Surface for the Habitation of Man—Distribution of the rest into the Oceans and Seas of the Globe—Views as to the Divine Purposes in these Arrangements.

MY DEAR SON,

IN arranging and settling the surface of our earth in the diluvian commotion, it was not enough to compose and place the rocks and strata so as that they should be of that sort, and disintegrate into that state, and remain always such, as would suit and cherish the general vegetation of the globe. But as the electrical influences in all their modifications, whether as magnetism, galvanism, or otherwise, and the temperature of our air and its vapours, clouds, and winds, and the succession of the seasons, depend very materially on the interior strata and disposition of our subterraneous surface, it had also to be framed and regulated with a view to all the proper results that were appointed to take place in these important respects for our benefit.

But when the construction and condition of our habitable ground had been fixed as to all its physical agencies, still other considerations were necessary in the Creator's mind, before its form and disposition should be finally determined on : and these were those points which more immediately related to the nature and welfare of his human kind. Nothing as to them either could or would be left to chance, or to the mere material course and sequences of things irrespective of them ; or no specific, no permanent, no rational, and no comfortable form and state of human nature could arise. It was therefore essential for the Almighty omniscience, which could do whatever it should choose to do, and without whose appointing and framing will no mode of being could exist, to determine what the numbers, the localities, the social state, the habits, the pursuits, the history, and the general characters of the renewed race of mankind were to be, in order that so far as they would be produced, governed, or affected by the nature and influence of the surface they were to dwell on, to cultivate and to obtain their subsistence and conveniences from, it might be made such as would cause and

promote what the divine economy had intended should, o all these points, be provided for and produced.

The NUMBERS of human beings who should, at ever period, be living at the same time on the earth, must have been decided on in the divine mind before the new surface was settled ; because on this would depend, whether the whole superficies of its circumference, or only a part of it and in that case how much of it, should be occupied with their population, and adapted to their use. If as many were to be coexisting upon it as a globe of twenty-four thousand miles in circuit could contain and nourish, then every portion of its upper soil must be made and kept in such a state as would supply the habitable locality and the proper vegetation ; but, if man was not to replenish the whole area of the circular expanse, it would then be sufficient if so much only was made cultivable and fitted for his residence as his appointed numbers should require. The space to be prepared and appropriated by man would be governed by the intended quantity of his population, that were, from time to time, to be contemporaneous. A few would require small room, multitudes much more. If the numbers were to be gradually augmented, the fitted surface might be as gradually extended but at all events the highest quantity meant to be co-tenants must have been adverted to, that the whole space which would be in the fullest diffusion wanted, might be provided and made ready.

These recollections may satisfy us that neither the increase and amount of the human population, nor the state and form of our globular surface, have been left to be what chance, or the undirected movements of nature might make them ; but that they must from the beginning of our renewal have been the subject of the divine deliberation and adjusting care. We see this immediately in one striking circumstance. The ocean has been made to occupy nearly three fourths of our surface. An event of this magnitude could be no accident. It must have been resolved from the commencement of things, that about one fourth only of the earth's surface should be inhabited by man, and that the remainder should be covered by the seas. Here was, from the time the deluge ceased, an express limitation of the population of mankind and of all land vegetation, and of the animals which subsist upon it. At that time or before, it was fixed that neither

of these should be as many as the globe would contain, but only, at the utmost, one fourth of that possible number. The ocean was in this respect made the limiting and confining instrument; its waves, as they rolled and expanded, spread everywhere the prohibition, and maintained it, that man and all terrestrial life should never multiply nor extend beyond one fourth of the surface of the planet in which he was stationed.

But was it also settled that the human race should ever increase to the full population which that restricted space allows? Was man ever to multiply into such a multitude of human beings as one fourth part of the surface could maintain? The facts which have occurred, enable us at once to answer that it never has been the divine intention that mankind should ever enlarge into such a productivity and quantity as this. The vegetable kingdom has been permitted and enabled to have this extent of dissemination, and some classes of the animated world attend its herbs and trees wherever they arise. Not so mankind: A proportion, and that a small one, of the habitable surface, is that which they have been designed to till and occupy; for if they had not been restricted to this minor number, the amount of their possible population, which might have subsisted at the same time on the fourth part of the earth, would have been a vast multiple of their present number.

On this point we have sufficient data to reason correctly from. From all that history presents to us, we may justly conclude that the earth never had, at one time, a larger proportion of human kind than it now possesses.

Malte Brun has reckoned the present population of the world at six hundred and fifty millions; some think it more, and others calculate it to be less.* It is in Europe that we

* "A thousand millions have been mentioned, apparently for no other reason than the convenience of a round number.—M. Malte Brun reduces the amount to 650,000,000. We think his enumeration for Asia, Africa, and America still rather high, and submit the following estimate as the result of our inquiries:

Europe	185,000,000
Asia, with Australia and Polynesia	270,000,000
Africa	55,000,000
America	40,000,000

550,000,000

Supp. Ed. *Encycl. v.* vi. p. 173.

might expect the greater exactness to be attainable,—but the most distinguished statistical inquirers differ also on this no less than forty-five millions.* If we take an average medium between the highest and the lowest enumerations that have been mentioned, we shall find that from seven hundred to eight hundred millions will be the number thence derivable; and this general estimation may be taken as a very probable amount. I believe that the earth never has contained so large a population as this, until within the last fifty or one hundred years.

These calculations entitle us to say, that the largest number of human beings which the Creator, from the beginning of our world to the present day, has intended to be upon it at any one time, has not exceeded seven or eight hundred millions. It never reached this amount in ancient times, according to all the documents from which we can compute it. But as our race have now multiplied up to it, we may take it as the number for which he had to provide a suitable surface.

But how much of our globular superficies would such a number require for their residence and support? We can judge of this from many circumstances. The two islands of Great Britain and Ireland contain twenty-four millions of human beings. Multiply this by thirty, and we have seven hundred and twenty. Therefore thirty times as much space of soil as Great Britain and Ireland comprehend, would be sufficient for the maintenance of seven hundred and twenty millions of human beings, living as the people of these islands generally do. Now these islands comprise an area, altogether, of one hundred and eighteen thousand four hundred and sixty miles.† This space multiplied by thirty will amount to three millions five hundred and fifty-thousand eight hundred square miles. Thus, for the comfortable support of seven hundred and twenty millions of

* Hassell, in 1819, estimated the population of Europe at 180,702,000; but Balbi, in 1828, raised it to 226,283,000.—*Murray's Encycl. Geog.* p. 385. About the same time the German A. De Savenben reckoned it to be 188,391,174, of whom 172,432,000 were Christians. He computed the armed force of all its countries at 2,500,000. *Univ.* 1830, p. 218.

† England and Wales contained 57,960 square miles, Scotland and Ireland 30,000; in all 118,460 square miles.—*Murray's Encycl.* p. 312, 478.

human race, like the inhabitants of Great Britain and Ireland, no more than about three millions and a half square miles of surface would be requisite. Now, in the four quarters of our globe, the whole of actual land surface which it presents to us has been stated to be a little more than fifty-one millions of square miles,* though some suppose it may be a little more;† but on either computation, we see that one sixteenth or seventeenth part of our present dry land would be quite enough of cultivable ground to nourish, at one time, the greatest amount of human population which has hitherto been permitted to be, contemporaneously, upon the earth.

We have another indication of the portion which such an amount of mankind would require, in the population and extent of China. The amount of its inhabitants has been variously stated from three hundred and thirty millions to one hundred and forty-five;‡ but the latest enumeration, which has been taken from the official census of the Chinese gov-

* "The extent of the four great divisions of the world is as follows, in square English miles:—

EUROPE, with its Isles	3,432,000
AFRICA, with Madagascar	11,430,000
ASIA, Continental	16,890,000
The Isles, including New Holland and Polynesia	4,200,000
SOUTH AMERICA	6,420,000
North ditto	8,100,000
Islands	160,000
Greenland (supposed)	620,000

Total square miles 51,242,000"

Sup. Ed. Encyc. p. 160.

† Thus as to Asia:—"On a general estimate we may state Asia at 6,000 miles in length and 4,000 in breadth, which, supposing a regular figure, would give 24,000,000 square miles; but, in consideration of the many irregularities, a considerable deduction must be made."—Murray's Enc. Geog. p. 851. In the preceding note, Asia with its Isles is reckoned at 21,090,000 miles. The deductions alluded to might very much approximate the two estimates.

‡ Mr. Malthus states the population of China, from his authorities, at 330,000,000.—Essay. Pop. p. 146. The Chinese mandarins gave this account to Lord Macartney.—Macart. Journ. p. 371. Malte Brun, in his geography, reduces it, in his view of the subject, to 150 millions. Abbé Grocier reckoned it at 157,301,755.—China, v. i. p. 365. The Père Amiot at 200 millions. Tinkowski, one of a late Russian mission, from some account he saw in 1790, at 142,326,734.—Tink. Trav. 1827. An official work published in China in 1823, entitled Tsin-shin, makes the amount 146,280,163.—As. Jour. 1825, p. 294. Mr. Sadler inclines to adopt this enumeration.—Sadl. Law. Pop. i. p. 635.

ernment, and which has all the certainty that such authorized and inquisitorial investigations possess, places the number at above three hundred and sixty millions.* Its territorial

* An Anglo-Chinese Kalendar, published recently in China, states that, according to a census taken in 1813, under the authority of the Emperor Kea-king, the official returns carried the population of China to 362,447,183 souls. M. Gutzlaff has adopted this as the most certain account of the real population of this surprisingly extensive empire.

Provinces.	No. of Individuals.
Chihle	27,990,871
Shantung	28,958,764
Shanse	14,004,210
Houan	23,037,171
Keangsoo	37,843,501
Ganhwuy	34,168,059
Keangse	30,426,999
Fuhkeen	14,777,410
Formosa, natives	1,748
Chekeang	26,256,784
Hoopih	27,370,008
Hoonan	18,652,507
Shense	10,207,256
Kansuh	15,193,125
Barkul and Oroumsi	161,750
Szechuen	21,435,678
Kwanghing, or Canton	19,174,030
Kwang-se	7,313,805
Yunnan	5,561,320
Kweichow	5,288,219
Shinking, or Lecouhing	942,603
Kirin	307,781
Turfan Lebhor	700
Individuals	361,693,879
Also the following families :	Families.
Kihlung-keang, or Teetcihar	2,398
Tunghae, or Kokonor	7,842
Foreign Tribes under Kansul	26,728
Ditto . . ditto Sutchuen	72,374
Thibetan Colonies	4,889
Ele and its Dependancies	69,044
Turfan and Lobnor	2,551
Russian Border	1,900
	188,326
	4
Individuals, four in each family	753,704
Add Individuals	361,693,879
Total Individuals	362,447,183

"The above table is copied from the Companion to the Anglo-Chinese Kalendar for 1832, edited by Jno. Rob. Morrison, Esq., son of Dr. Mc

extent has also been officially declared to be one million two hundred and ninety-eight square miles.* If this space is sufficient for the residence and nurture of three hundred and sixty millions of human beings, then twice that amount, or about two millions and a half square miles of superficial area, would maintain twice that number, or the seven hundred and twenty millions who we have supposed may be now existing on the earth; but this would be only one twentieth part of our present dry land; and therefore one twentieth part of what the Creator has assigned to be land on our surface, would suffice to maintain all the human beings upon it, living as the Chinese nation do; and this space would be only one eightieth part of the whole globular superficies. If we even suppose the present quantity of mankind to be one thousand millions, then less than four millions of square miles of surface would support them on an equality with the Chinese, or less than a fiftieth portion of the entire circumference.

Thus one sixteenth only of what is dry land would be sufficient for all our existing population, living as the people of Great Britain and Ireland do, or one twentieth, to subsist and dwell as the Chinese are occupying it; or one thirteenth part, if the population be so many as one thousand millions; but be the real amount of the Chinese population what it may, yet that intelligent gentleman who takes it at the lowest computation, has intimated that China alone, properly cultivated, would support a considerable multiplication of all the human race that are now upon the earth; † a conclusion

* This statement is contained in the last edition of the Ta-tsing Hwuy-teen, or collection of statutes of the Ta-tsing dynasty, published in 1825."

Mr. M. observes, "It will probably serve to set at rest the numerous speculations concerning the real amount of population in China."

"We know from several authorities, that in China the people are in the habit of *diminishing*, rather than *increasing*, their numbers in their reports to government. It is a work published by the government, not for the information of curious inquirers, but for the use of its own officers."

* China contains 1,260 geographical miles in length by 1,050 in breadth. According to an official statement presented to Lord Macartney, the superficial extent amounted to 1,298,000 square miles.—Murray's Enc. Geog. p. 1023.

† Mr. Sadler mentions China as "containing, in all probability, at least one thousand millions of acres."—P. 591. "Deduct," says the Supplement to the Encyc. Brit., "one third of this for waste lands, lakes, and mountains, and 640 millions of acres will still remain."—V. 3. p. 102. Mr. Barrow remarks of the same empire, that "an acre of land, with proper culture, will afford a supply of rice for ten persons for a whole year in the southern provinces; and sufficient for the consumption of five in the

that will seem not unwarranted, if we consider the very defective state of the Chinese agriculture, notwithstanding the parade of imperial patronage which is annually given to it by the state festival, in which the emperor himself is exhibited guiding the plough.* So that in fact, on this calculation, a fifth part of the surface of China, or a one hundredth portion of the dry land on the globe, would be space enough to clothe and feed the highest amount of human beings that have been living at the same time on our earth.

But even a far less proportion of surface would be adequate to this purpose; for we find from the calculation of others who have attended to statistical subjects, that no larger a space than six times the two British islands would maintain all the people now on the earth. A section of a continent of this size, or six islands like Great Britain and Ireland, would be enough for this purpose.†

We see, then, how much larger a land surface was provided for us, by the result of the deluge, than we have ever needed, and how unfounded are all the apprehensions that the human race will ever overflow their earthly habitation. Away, then, with those declamations on this subject, by

northern, allowing each person two pounds a day; while an acre of cotton will clothe 200 or 300 persons."—*Trav. China*, 577, 8.

Mr. Sadler adds: "These facts show us that, cultivated to the utmost, China would clothe and feed *five times as many human beings as*, probably, inhabit the whole world."—*Sadler, Law. Pop.* vi. p. 596.

* "De Guignes says he travelled through whole districts, of which no portion was thrown into cultivation. Malte Brun observes, that even on the road from Peking to Canton, there are extensive tracts in a state of nature; while the western provinces, according to the account of the Chinese, contain a still larger extent of barren land. Forests of immense extent are known to exist in China." Mr. Barrow describes many extensive wastes and uncultivated districts through which he passed, p. 70, 514 533, 535, 554: "Indeed we are assured that a very considerable proportion of the richest land, perhaps, in the whole empire, is suffered to remain a unproductive waste."—*Sadler*, p. 598, 9. Mr. Abel mentions the same imperfect husbandry: "much land capable of tillage is left neglected, as I mean land capable of that kind of tillage which is understood by the inhabitants. I often noticed portions of land, even in the vicinity of villages and villages, remaining waste, for no other conceivable reason than because its cultivation was unnecessary to the support of the neighbouring inhabitants."—*Abel, Narr. Journey to China*, p. 204.

† The statement was thus: The united kingdom contains 74,000, of acres, of which 64,000,000 are susceptible of cultivation. Half an acre with ordinary attention, yields corn enough for one individual, and an acre will feed a horse. Hence the united kingdom could maintain 120,000,000 of people, and also 4,000,000 horses.—*Edinb. New Phil.* Sept. 1828.

which Providence has been so often and so unjustly attacked, and in which the querulous feelings of even good men have sometimes indulged;* all arising from the habit of looking at the ways and works of the Almighty, not according to their realities and as a sound judgment would dictate, but according to our changing theories, personal humour, or, sometimes, of our splenetic perturbations. We darken our minds and depress our own spirits without reason; and then we see nothing around us but to censure and complain of, either in earth or heaven, in Deity or man.

But if one fiftieth or sixtieth part of our entire globular surface would have been ample space for maintaining, in every period, the largest contemporaneous populations which have been hitherto upon it, our Creator, in choosing to have no greater number of co-existing human beings on it, and yet to have the surface of their abode fifty-nine or forty-nine times more extensive than they would need for their comfortable accommodation, shows to us that he had other objects in view than our sustentation, when he determined upon the state and composition of our superficial ground, that were to follow the diluvian commotion.

Of three fourths of our circumference, we perceive that his intention was, that it should in fact be a world of being in our globe, very different from that world of being which he has formed and destined to be on land. For the ocean, with its branches, which he has diffused over this great portion, is like a new world of its own peculiar kind, both in its substance and in its living contents. Their waters cover an area of one hundred and forty-five millions and six hundred thousand square miles.† He has divided this

* Dr. Young has thus uttered his hypochondriacal feelings, which he ought to have repressed—

"A part, how small! of the ferraqueous globe
Is tenanted by man. The rest, a waste;
Rocks; deserts; frozen seas, and burning sands:
Wild haunts of monsters, poisons, stings, and death.
Such is earth's MELANCHOLY MAP—but, far
More sad! this earth is a true map of man!"

Night Thoughts, 1st.

What a jaundiced discoloration of our admirable world!

† "About seven twelfths of the great body of waters lie in the southern hemisphere, and five twelfths in the northern. In the one the ocean is to the land nearly as seven to five, and in the other as thirteen to two. La Place has calculated that its mean depth is but a small fraction of the

into five great basins, communicating with each other,—the Pacific, the Atlantic, the Indian Ocean, with the Arctic and Antarctic, each of unequal dimensions, besides some minor seas, as the Mediterranean, the Black Sea, and the Baltic ;* of these, the PACIFIC alone occupies a superficial space larger than the whole mass of dry land.† Yet the fewest rivers discharge into it the waters from the land.‡ It is distinguished for its coral formations§ and beautiful islands.¶ It has the remarkable circumstance of being some feet lower than the Atlantic in the ebb of its tide.¶ The ATLANTIC is but half the extent of the Pacific—yet it spreads over twenty-eight millions of square miles, exclusive of inland seas.** The INDIAN is about two thirds the expanse of

difference between the axis of the earth, which is 25 miles. If, therefore, we suppose the mean depth to be two miles, the cubic contents will be 290,000,000 cubic miles of water."—Suppl. Enc. Brit. p. 166.

* "The Pacific, the largest, separates America from Asia; the Atlantic separates Europe from America; the Indian Ocean separates Asia and its isles from Africa; the Arctic or North Polar Basin encompasses the North Pole; and the Antarctic the South."—Ib.

† "The Pacific Ocean is 11,000 miles in length from east to west, and 8,000 broad. From Cape Horn to the head of the Bay of Bengal, a rampart of mountains, containing the highest chains in the world, is arranged round this sea at a greater or less distance from its shores. An inner and broken chain extends from Alyaska to New Holland; and this chain, with the rocky mountains and Andes, seems placed on one continuous vein of igneous matter, for they include the most numerous and active volcanoes in the world."—Ib.

‡ "Though this basin forms more than one third of the whole ocean, it certainly does not receive more than one eighth of the whole river water."—Ib.

§ "On the western side, and between the tropics, its surface is studded with innumerable groups of islands, all remarkably small, and consisting generally of coral reefs, rising up like a wall from unknown depths, and emerging but very little above the sea,—the work of myriads of minute insects, whose incessant labours are thus gradually creating new lands in the bosom of the ocean."—Ib. They seem to begin their structures upon the base of submarine and, probably, volcanic elevations.

¶ "The Pacific Ocean, in consequence of the wide expanse of its surface, is remarkably exempt from storms, except near its mountainous shores. Its small isles, in which the heat of the torrid zone is mitigated by so vast a body of water, enjoy perhaps the most delicious climate in the world."—Ib. p. 167.

¶ "The Pacific at low tide is six feet and a half lower than the Atlantic. At high tide, the Pacific rises one foot .061, and the Atlantic .058 feet above their usual level."—Bull. Univ. April, 1831, p. 37.

** "The length is about 8500 miles; its breadth, which in the latitude of 52° N. is 1800 miles, and near the equator 2100, spreads out at the northern tropic to 5400, including the Mexican Gulf. Its southern division does not contain one single deep inlet, or one island of any magnitude ;

this,* while the ANTARCTIC occupies a wider surface than the Atlantic.† The Arctic basin is the Frozen Ocean. It comprises a great part of the space within the seventieth parallel. It was most interestingly disclosed to us by Captain Parry's courageous voyages, but, from its ice, has not been found pervious to any passage, nor is ever likely to be so.

Of the minor seas, the MEDITERRANEAN is the most important, and embraces an area, very nearly, of 1,000,000 square miles.‡

The BLACK SEA and Sea of Azoph discharge their superfluous waters into the Mediterranean. They occupy a superficial space of 170,000 miles; but receiving the waters of a surface five times as large as their own, they have a constant efflux.

The BALTIC, 1200 miles long, presents a space of 175,000 square miles, including the Cattegat; and receiving the waters of a surface nearly five times as large as its own, it has an efflux current, and its waters are remarkably fresh. Its mean depth is 60 fathoms. The NORTH SEA spreads over an extent of 160,000 square miles, from Calais to Orkney.§

But this state and proportion of these seas seem to be undergoing some alterations, which have been only noticed in a few places, and therefore may be only local and partial; yet the distance between the sites of the changes being no

while its northern division abounds in large islands and in deep and numerous inland seas. Few great rivers fall into this sea on the east side, but on the west it receives the three largest on the globe—the Plata, Amazon, and Mississippi."—*Sup. Enc. Brit.* p. 167.

* "Its length is about 4,500 miles. Its mean breadth is nearly the same, and it covers a surface of about 17,000,000 square miles. Its shores are generally mountainous. It contains many islands, two large open bays, and two deep inlets, the Persian Gulf and Red Sea. A particular system of winds, called monsoons, prevail in the northern part of this basin."—*Ib.*

† "The Antarctic basin surrounds the south pole. It joins the Pacific in the latitude of 50°, and the Indian Ocean at 40°. It embraces an area of about 30,000,000 square miles. This sea is generally covered with floating ice as far north as latitude 60°."—*Ib.*

‡ This, "the finest inland sea in the world, is 2350 miles long, and from 100 to 650 broad, including the Adriatic. It expends probably three times as much water as it receives. Hence its surface is said to be 34 feet lower than the Red Sea. Like all inland seas which open to the west, it has no general tides: but local tides are felt, which rise three feet at Venice, one foot at Naples, one or two at Toulon, and six inches on the Syrian coast. A current circulates round the line of its coast."—*Ib.* p. 167.

§ *Ib.* p. 182.

less than that of the whole hemisphere of the globe, they may be also taking place in other regions where they have not yet been attended to.* The same fact occurs also in the Caspian; as if the waters on the earth were, from some cause or other not yet discerned, actually diminishing.†

Upon that one fourth of our globular circumference which the Creator appointed to be the land portion of our surface, he was pleased to cause those interesting collections of the watery fluid which we call LAKES. They are distinguished from the oceanic liquid by being fresh water instead of salt, unless they are near a saline soil. They are "among those natural objects which contribute, in the highest degree, to the picturesque beauty of the earth's surface. Like the sea, they exercise a beneficial influence on the climate and soil, by moderating the extremes of heat and cold, and by diffu-

* I allude to the facts, that the sea has been recently observed to be retreating, both from the coasts of China and from those of the Baltic. Of the former, M. Gutzlaff writes, on his voyage in 1832, of the island of Formosa, "The sea recedes from the land so rapidly, that many harbours, once good, are now inaccessible even for small junks. The land latterly is increased to such a degree, that large shoals have become visible all along the coast, and the approach to it is consequently dangerous."—Gutz. Journ. Voy. p. 204. So on the coast of China itself, in January, 1833, on the north coast of Chekeang, in lat. $30^{\circ} 37'$, "The whole coast from the Yellow river is very flat. The sea is everywhere receding from the land; so that the flats formed along the shore, which are dry at low water, constitute a barrier to the whole coast, and are gradually becoming arable soil."—Ib. p. 429. He mentions the same of the coast of Fuhkeen: "The sea seems here to be receding, for the lands belonging to this people ten years ago were sea, and are yearly increasing in extent."—Ib. p. 171.

As to the Baltic, the Commercial Gazette of St. Petersburg, of 28th May, 1834, states,—"It has been remarked, that during the last 20 years the water in this port has become considerably lowered!" It adds, "The lakes of Denmark have sunk so low, that some of them are almost entirely without water. It is incontestable that the mainland washed by the Baltic is enlarging; that the rivers and lakes diminish in depth: that banks are forming in the seaports; and that sooner or later the inhabitants of the shores of this sea will be driven to dig canals, and perhaps to lay down iron rail-roads, in order to maintain their commerce."—It was mentioned at the meeting of the British Association of Science in September, 1834, that Mr. Lyell, who had recently returned from a tour in Sweden, had ascertained that the land on the coast of Sweden has within the last hundred years gained somewhat more than three feet.—Athen. 1834, p. 698.

† Lieut. Burnes visited this inland sea in 1832, and remarks, "There is a prevalent belief that the waters on the southern side of the Caspian have been receding. During these twelve years they have retired about three hundred yards, of which I have ocular proof."—Burnes' Trav. Bokhara, v. ii. p. 122.

sing humid vapours over the land."* We have two grand systems of lakes in the old continent. The one accompanies the great Alpine girdle.† The other begins at the lower shores of Holland, and extends to Bhering's Straits.‡

Africa has but few lakes, except in its central regions. But in America a chain of lakes, though generally smaller than those of the old world, accompanies the Andes; while in its northern hemisphere, "the regions round Hudson's Bay present a multitude of lakes, corresponding in number, character, and geographical situation, with those which skirt the shores of the Baltic and Frozen Ocean."§ The CASPIAN is the largest lake in the world; and has much of the character of an inland sea.|| It is most remarkable for the extraordinary lowness of its surface, by which it is distinguished from all the other lakes and seas in the world, and for which no satisfactory reason has yet been given.¶ There are two lakes in Judea which have become peculiarly interesting to the intelligent mind, from the impressive circumstances which have been connected with them—the lake of Gennesareth in Galilee, and the Dead Sea, which has so much arrested the notice of all ages by its unparalleled state and nature. This, however, was formed some centuries after the deluge; but the other arose from that event.** The depths of the

* "Lakes are chiefly of two kinds: those which are formed in deep hollows between the ridges or at the foot of mountains, and which are fed by springs or torrents; and those which are formed in low and level countries, by the surplus water of rivers, or in consequence of the want of a general declivity of the ground."—Enc. Brit. Supp. 165.

† This "includes the lakes of the Pyrenees, Alps, Appenines; those of Asia Minor, Syria, and Persia, with the Caspian Sea, the Aral, Balkash, Baikal, and all the series of them found at the foot of the Altaic chain."—Ib.

‡ "It extends along the southeast coast of the Baltic and Gulf of Bothnia, and thence in smaller numbers along the Frozen Ocean."—Ib.

§ Ib.

|| "Its length is 750 miles; its breadth about 200; and it embraces an area of 170,000 square miles. Its general depth is 60 or 70 fathoms; but near the south end no bottom has been found at 350. It is salt, and subject to storms."—Ib.

¶ "Its surface was found by Engelhardt and Parrott to be 334° beneath that of the Black Sea. The inhabitants, therefore, of Astracan and other places on its shores live at a lower level by 200 or 300 feet than any other people on the globe."—Tuckey, *Marit. Geog.* i. p. 451; *Ed. Phil. Journ.* No. 6, p. 408. Lieut. Burnes also found its level below that of the sea. "A thermometer which boils at sea at 212½, here boiled at 213½, which, according to Humboldt, would give a depression of 800 feet; but this is much too great.—Burnes, *Trav. Bokhara*, v. ii. p. 122.

** The sea of Tiberias. "This immense lake is almost equal in the

lakes in some mountainous districts are often remarkably great.*

A considerable proportion of the land territory of the globe has been destined, since the deluge, to be occupied by rivers. It is the assigned office of these, to convey to the sea that portion of the rain waters falling upon the earth which does not pass off by evaporation, or go to nourish organic bodies. They invariably occupy the lowest parts of the surface of the districts, from which their waters are derived.† Their channels are generally the work of their own currents; and if the new surface deposited by the deluge obliterated any such cavities in the antediluvian world, then all our rivers must have been excavated by these streams subsequent to that event. None can in this view claim a higher chronology.‡ Striking indications of the self-

grandeur of its appearance to that of Geneva. Its eastern shores present a sublime scene of mountains, extending towards the north and south, and seeming to close it in at either extremity, both toward Chorazin, where the Jordan enters, and the Aulon, or Campus Magnus, through which it flows into the Dead Sea. The cultivated plains, reaching to its borders, resembled by their various hues a motley but vast carpet. To the north appeared snowy summits, towering beyond a series of intervening mountains with unspeakable greatness. It is longer and finer than any of the Cumberland and Westmoreland lakes, though it yields in majesty to the stupendous features of Loch Lomond. It does not possess the vastness of the Lake of Geneva; it is inferior in magnitude, and perhaps in the height of its mountains, to the Lake Asphaltides; but its broad and extended surface covers the bottom of a profound valley, environed by lofty and precipitous eminences. Along the borders of this lake may still be seen the remains of those ancient tombs, shown by the earliest inhabitants of Galilee in the rocks which face the water; the rocks about which have a volcanic appearance. Among the pebbles of its shore were pieces of a porous rock, resembling the substance called toad-stone in England; its cavities were filled with zeolite. Native gold was found here formerly. Among these stones was a beautiful but very diminutive shell, a nondescript species of *buccinum*."—Dr. Clarke's Travels.

* "That of Loch Ness, on the line of the Caledonian Canal, is 130 fathoms in some parts, which is four times the mean depth of the German sea; and its bottom is actually thirty fathoms below the deepest part of that sea, between the latitudes of Dover and Inverness. The bottom of the Lake of Geneva, at the depth of 161 fathoms, reaches from the high plateau which surrounds it, to within 200 feet of the level of the Mediterranean."—*Euc. Brit. S.* p. 166.

† "These districts are called their basins. The basin is bounded by high land, which is sometimes mountainous. The water descending from these collects into brooks. The brooks unite into rivulets. These united form the main trunk or river, which conveys the waters of the whole to the sea."—*Ib.* p. 160.

‡ "The form and appearance of river-courses lead to the conclusion,

agency of the watery torrents, from the higher grounds, in forming these rivers, may be traced, and have been noticed in several parts of the world.* Rivers, therefore, cannot have been as they are, immediately after the flood; but must have taken several ages to form into what they now are; but not more than our usual chronology allows, for when water accumulates, the force of its collected weight is so tremendous, that it has burst through rocks with an instantaneous suddenness when least expected, and made a chasm in a moment, and a channel rapidly afterward. Yet some theorists prefer to allow some thousands of years for such formations.†

Besides carrying off the superfluous waters from the land, rivers perform the most important office of fertilizing the districts through which they flow. Wherever there is water, there are vegetation, life, and beauty. Even sandy deserts become, as we have remarked, spots of nutrition and pleasantness, where any spring or river moistens the surface. Rich products accompany their banks, effusions, inundations, and neighbourhood. The country which abounds with them is ever fertile and prosperous, and when once inhabited and cultivated, is distinguished by its opulence and population.

that their channels are generally the work of their own currents. We never find them flowing in cavities which retain their natural shape; but always in beds cut below the adjoining surface, and corresponding to the quantity of water. They do not accommodate themselves to the surface of the country; but flow near the surface, in low plains, and cut through a high ridge when it comes in the way; preserving a pretty uniform rate of descent, however great may be the undulations of the superior soil."—*Enc. Brit.* 8. p. 160.

* "The celebrated passage of Ecluse has exactly the dimensions and appearance of a channel cut by the Rhone itself; and exhibits marks of the action of the water far above the present surface.

† "In the Danube may be distinguished the basins of Bavaria, Austria, and Hungary; from each of which the river escapes by a mountainous defile. The celebrated defile of Tempe in Thessaly; the deep and rugged clefts by which the Potomac, Susquehanna, and Delaware penetrate the barrier of the Alleghanies, all bear decisive marks of the action of the stream."—*Ib.* 161.

‡ Thus one gentleman has imagined that "it may be inferred, from calculation, that 50,000 years have elapsed since the waters of the St. Lawrence began to flow"!!! But the human mind loves often to deviate into extravagances. In one age it invents pagods; in another, auguries and divinations; in another, witches and fortune-tellers; and in our own, many physical chimeras, gravely dressed and sometimes largely patronised.

Vol. II.—D d

They are always one of the greatest physical blessings that Providence confers upon the land which they adorn.

The space they occupy varies in different countries, but amounts altogether to a very large aggregate.*

But although the river-courses have been formed by the forcing action of these massive waters, where natural causes would so operate, yet we must consider these as always acting in subordination and conformity to the directing will and purpose, and to the accomplishment of the designs of the general Creator. They are too important in their results to have been left anywhere to chance, and indeed could not be so; for as they always flow from high ground to lower, they could not be everywhere, unless the surface had been previously so framed as to cause them to take place. If

* The following table has been made of some of the most considerable rivers on the globe, taking the length of the Thames as the fixed ratio of comparison:—

EUROPE.		Area of Basin in English miles	
Rivers.	Length.		
Thames	1	5,500	
Rhine	4 $\frac{1}{2}$	70,000	
Loire	4	48,000	
Po	2 $\frac{1}{2}$	27,000	
Elbe	4 $\frac{1}{2}$	50,000	
Vistula	4 $\frac{1}{2}$	76,000	
Danube	9 $\frac{1}{2}$	310,000	
Dnieper	7 $\frac{1}{2}$	200,000	
Don	7 $\frac{1}{2}$	205,000	
ASIA.			
Volga	14	520,000	
Euphrates	9 $\frac{1}{2}$	230,000	
Indus	11 $\frac{1}{2}$	400,000	
Ganges	10	420,000	
Kangtse, China	21 $\frac{1}{2}$	760,000	
Amour, Ch. Tartary	16	900,000	
Lena, As. Russia	13 $\frac{1}{2}$	960,000	
Oby... ditto	15	1,300,000	
AFRICA.			
Nile	18 $\frac{1}{2}$	500,000	
(but uncertain.)			
AMERICA.			
St. Lawrence, including Lakes	22 $\frac{1}{2}$	600,000	
Mississippi	19	1,368,000	
Plata	13 $\frac{1}{2}$	1,240,000	
Amazon, not including Araguay	22 $\frac{1}{2}$	2,177,000	
		Encyc Brit. s. p. 163.	

the earth had been, as some ancient philosophers thought, a flat table, or a hollow dish, it would have been an immense swamp or inundation; but no rivers could have arisen to carry off the congregated waters. For these to be, it was necessary that the surface should be varied into high land and low land; and this variation requires due preceding foresight and adaptation, that it might be in such places, and of such local degrees and continuity, as would suit with the intended habitation, population, intercourse, destinations, insulations, and welfare of mankind.

For as to the greater rivers, we may believe, from the magnitude of their effect and utility, that they were specially planned and appointed, and therefore, if natural causes were insufficient to produce their channels, such additional exertions of power as were necessary to cause them, were applied when required.

All these preparations and modifications have been admirably made and adjusted to each other; and from their well-arranged and well-proportioned provisions, earth is that serviceable and pleasing abode for both men and animals, which we find it to be. Such elevations and declivities have been everywhere produced, as would be subservient to this result; and these must have been in the contemplation of the Deity during the diluvian subsidence and deposite, and have been then effectuated by the superintending intelligence and commanding power.*

The effect and uses of the ocean are so intermingled with what the human race are essentially concerned with, that they could not have lived as they have done, if at all, without it. It forms a most important compartment of our

* "As very large rivers, with numerous tributary streams, necessarily occupy the lowest situations in all countries, it follows that their courses have a very small declivity. The surface of the Amazon at Jaen, 3000 miles from the sea, has only an elevation of 194 toises, which gives five inches per mile for the mean fall. In the last two hundred leagues from its course, the inclination is not believed to exceed eleven feet, or 9-10ths of an inch per mile. The Ganges, reckoning its sinuosities, has only a fall of four inches per mile from Burdwan, where it leaves the Himalaya chain, to the sea. Humboldt thinks the declivity in the lower course of the Mississippi still smaller. The Wolga, from its course to the Caspian Sea, falls about five English inches per mile. The Nile, though it falls from a height of 10,000 feet at its head, according to Bruce, has a very small inclination in the lower part of its course." —*Enc. Brit. Suppl.* 164.

terrestrial economy. It separates, and yet unites, mankind. It keeps nations apart from each other, and in mutual ignorance and seclusion, so long as they are to be unknown and unvisited by each other. But it also presents the easiest channel of their communications and intercourse together, as soon as the time arrives in which they are to have mutual dealings and intercourse. By the protracted separation, each is preserved in its distinctness, until grown up into its designed peculiarities; and is caused to remain in them until the diversity is sufficiently formed in body, habits, and in mind. Then when the variety is secured, they are, as the intended period arrives, brought, by a train of directed causes, or influencing incidents, into mutual contact and knowledge.

The ocean is likewise a vast agent in the production of clouds and winds, and all the electrical changes of the atmosphere; for the largest quantity of aqueous evaporation is ever rising from it. It is the home of the great fish world, and the natural bed and soil for all the testaceous genera and coral animals, for the cetaceous tribes, the marine animalculæ, and for classes of vegetation peculiarly its own. For these innumerable myriads of organized life, it has, therefore, been created, as well as for the agencies and phenomena which it occasions to the inanimate departments of our earth.* Man only traverses it; he would, probably, inhabit it, with a large portion of his multiplying population, if its rolling billows, and currents, and agitating tempests, did not unfit it for any comfortable or permanent

* The following remarks on the ocean are just and intelligent :

"It is the great fountain of those vapours which replenish our lakes and streams, which dispense fertility to the soil, and clothe the surface with luxuriant vegetation. By its salutary action on the atmosphere, it tempers the extremes of opposite seasons and climates. It affords an inexhaustible supply of animal food and of salt, a substance of the utmost value to human life.

"As the great highway of commerce, it connects the most distant parts of the globe; and affords the advantages of free and abundant communication to nations, which mountains and deserts seem to have separated from each other. Its shores have been in every age the great seats of civilization: in all the great continents, rudeness and barbarism grow upon us as we advance into the interior. The central regions of Asia and Africa, from their want of inland seas like the Baltic, or navigable rivers like the Amazon, will be the last portion of the habitable globe over which the arts will extend their empire."—*Enc. Brit. Suppl.* 166.

inhabitation. Some birds of the aquatic kind resort to it for food and pleasure; and the penguin, so curious for her arranged societies and vast colonial multiplication, is found to use and enjoy it more spaciouly than a land bird could have been expected to venture.*

We find also many other species of birds hovering over the seas at considerable distances from land;† and we know that the tortoise order navigate them to remote shores for parental purposes.‡ A large species of the serpent class has also been noticed in several parts of it.§

Facts like these indicate that the ocean has been made for the use and enjoyment of several orders of the animal kingdom, as well as for objects connected with human transactions and improvements; indeed far more for what is important and interesting to the other classes of animated nature, than for our race, though the king of all. It is associated with our convenience; but it is daily fulfilling designs and ends with which we have no immediate concern.

One grand purpose it is always promoting, and this is, that it kindles irresistibly in every mind which views it, the emotion and sentiment of sublimity; a feeling of vastness of extent and moving power; a perception of grandeur, combined with the most attractive beauty, when the sun-

* Captain Beechey mentions, in traversing the Southern Ocean, "As we approached Falkland Islands from Rio Janeiro, some PENGUINS were seen upon the water at a distance of 340 miles from the nearest land." —Voy. i. p. 16. . . . Of this singular bird Mr. G. Bennett lately stated to the Zoological Society, that he had found a vast colony "at the north end of Macquarrie Island, in the South Pacific Ocean, which covers an extent of thirty or forty acres. The number of penguins collected on this spot is immense. During the whole of the day and night 30 or 40,000 of them are continually landing, and as many going to sea. They are arranged, when on shore, in as compact a manner and in as regular ranks as a regiment of soldiers. They are classed with the greatest order. The young birds being in one situation; the moulting in another; the sitting hens in a third, and the clean birds in a fourth. So strictly do the birds in a similar condition congregate, that should a bird which is moulting intrude itself among those which are clean, it is immediately ejected from among them. While the female is hatching her eggs, the male bird goes to sea to collect food for her; after the young are hatched, both parents go to sea and bring home food for them."

† The presence of birds at sea is usually thought an indication that land is near; but it is not then in sight, and is frequently not reached till after one or two days' farther sailing.

‡ Sac. Hist. vol. i. (Fam. Lib., No. XXXII.) p. 350. § Ib. p. 439.

bright calm is adorning its radiant and slumbering waves ; and of terrific majesty and agitating horror, when the storm throws up its waves, and hurls their foaming masses with a resistless fury, as if destruction were acting in a living form, and rushing determinedly to overwhelm us. Nothing more fully impresses man with a conviction of his personal helplessness, and comparative feebleness, when confronted with the forces of surrounding nature ; nor more compels him to feel, that power, infinitely greater than his own, is ever subsisting above and about him, to which he is completely subjected, and against which he is impotent to struggle. He may give this never-dying power what denomination he chooses ; but it forces him, by the ocean tempest, by the aerial whirlwind, and by the appalling thunder, to feel the certainty of its existence, and the tremendous possibilities of its agency. If he be wise, he will recognise it as the herald, and representative, and proclaimer of the Deity himself, and as the sensorial proof that he exists, and reigns, and actuates, and providentially governs ; for the more terrible the agitation of the winds, and waves, and lightning appear, and by their effects prove themselves to be, the more evidence they give to our eyesight and judgment, how speedily they would spread ruin and desolation through material nature, and over man's human world, if no superintending and controlling mind watched and limited their agency. The safety of our much-compounded globe, and of ourselves, depends every hour on the judgment and vigilance with which all the active forces of nature are coerced, guided, adjusted, and regulated, so that they never shall operate to produce general evil or universal destruction, or any more than the permitted portion of either ; and yet without the guardian administrator, and according to their own ungoverned and unrestricted properties and natural restlessness, it is obvious that in no long series of time, these impetuosities and collisions, if self-actuated only, would shake and shatter all things into fractures, confusion, and death.*

* The ocean, like the rest of material nature, has been created with the same divine taste for beauty, and exhibition of beauty to us, even in the appearances beneath its mighty waters. The following picture has been given of the NORTHERN SEAS :—

“ Nothing can be more surprising and beautiful than the singular clearness of the water of the Northern Seas.

“ As we passed slowly over the surface, the bottom, which here was

The ocean was a device of the Almighty, which, when executed, by placing the seas in their present positions and diffusion, gave to his providence the easy means and power of distributing the nations of which he meant his human population to consist, in such localities, and with such connexions and insulations, and immediate or future relations, as his progressive plan required. Colonization by coasting voyages, more or less distant, became thus always practicable. It was never difficult to transport small bodies for new settlements, by boats or larger vessels. It was easy, by adverse winds, to waft some of these to greater remoteness, or to other points than they themselves intended. All such could be kept aloof from others as long as his designs required; and as they enlarged into tribes, or cities, and states, the ocean then became his convenient instrumentality to such farther changes and circumstances as he meant to educe.

For as none could traverse the ocean but those who applied themselves to the art and practice of navigation, and became thereby maritime states, it was only such as he led to be of this description, which could visit those that were raised and flourishing in the distant regions of the earth. Thus the first power which he produced of this sort was the Phœnician, whose navigating tendencies were enlarged by

in general a white sand, was clearly visible, with its minutest objects, where the depth was from twenty to twenty-five fathoms. Hanging over the gunwale of the boat, with wonder and delight, I gazed on the slowly moving scene below. Where the bottom was sandy the different kinds of *asteria*, *echini*, and even the smallest shells, appeared at that great depth conspicuous to the eye. Now creeping along, we *saw* far beneath, the rugged sides of a *mountain* rising towards our boat, the base of which, perhaps, was hidden some miles in the great deep below. Though we were moving on a level surface, it seemed almost as if we were ascending the height under us; and when we passed over its summit, which apparently rose to within a few feet of our boat, and came again to the descent, which on that side was suddenly perpendicular, it seemed almost as if we had thrown ourselves down this precipice. Now we came again to a plain, and passed slowly over the *submarine* forests and meadows which appeared in the expanse below, inhabited doubtless by thousands of animals, to which they afford both food and shelter, though unknown to man. I could sometimes observe large fishes of singular shape, gliding softly through the watery thickets, unconscious of what was moving above them. As we proceeded, the bottom became no longer visible: its fairy scenes gradually faded to the view, and were lost in the dark green depths of the ocean.¹⁴

C. Brooke's Travels to the North Cape in 1830, p. 185.

their offspring, the Carthaginians. The Greeks, in their Cretan and other isles of the Cyclades and Egean sea, were the next nation which was formed to have the maritime propensity : and these soon spread their territorial settlements, till they became extensive colonizers on the Bosphorus and Hellespont above them ; and in no long time, also in lower Italy, and Sicily, and France. To these, in due time, the Romans succeeded, though with less activity, and with but little taste for commercial navigation.

But when his new plans for the improvement of our Europe began to open, then several of its countries were induced, by the stimulus and necessities resulting from the Crusades, to cultivate their shipping, and to attempt distant voyages. The Hanse Towns, Italians, Flemings, and, in time, our English forefathers, were actuated by these impulses ; yet always restrained and governed as the purposes of the Great Ruler required.

But when the time arrived for his causing the remoter nations of the earth to become known to us, we know historically, that of all the states of Europe bending their attention to maritime concerns, it was the Portuguese who were selected to pass the Cape of Good Hope, and discover the ocean passages to India and China ; as it was the Spanish nation who, in like manner, were urged and conducted to make the Americas known to the civilized world, and to begin our relations with them.

The Dutch were then made the next most distinguished people for these distant navigations in the Asiatic seas ; as England became also on the Atlantic, for the purposes of planting a new race of mankind of her national species on the shores of North America. Thus the ocean was made the peculiar means in the hands of Providence of keeping away from both Eastern Asia and the Americas, those nations whom it did not choose to plant there, or to have frequent intercourse with them ; and of leading over it to them, such as it was its will and suited its designs should have the dealings and settlements from which others were withheld. At present, the British nations have been raised to the colonial and governmental ascendancy in India, Australia, Polynesia, South and West Africa, and in the eastern frontiers of North America ; while the populations of the Spanish race are permitted to occupy and retain the South

American continent ; every one moved as the Great Director meant and led, and all fulfilling his wise and prospective purposes, and advancing his grand ulterior ends.

LETTER XXII.

Intended Separation of Mankind into Distinct Nations and Communities—Adaptation of the Earth to this Appointed Condition in its various Regions and Countries—The Surface gradually fitted to this Local Geography.

MY DEAR SON,

THE state of the human race, from the time that any notices of their transactions appear, has never been that of one united community or empire. They have always appeared divided into many insulated populations, living apart from each other, and remaining in distinct and separate tribes or nations ; most of them unknown to the others, and usually hostile to each other, or ever ready to be so, from alarm, suspicion, or provocation. This is the historical fact, and from its occurrence and continuation, we can have no difficulty in marking it as a part of the divine plan as to human nature, that mankind should be thus divided ; should multiply in separated populations ; should rarely unite and amalgamate ; and that, by this arrangement, each should grow up into those peculiar species and modifications of moral and intellectual being which they severally display ; and that the maintenance of their distinguishing particularities should be assisted by their mutual fears, jealousies, or dislikes.

What the actual events thus exhibit in certainty to us, the Mosaic history accounts for ; presents the origin of it to our view, and ascribes it to the same cause to which our reason refers it—the divine determination. It was the special will and appointment of God, that such should be the state of human kind after the deluge ; and it is noted to have begun about a century after the subsiding of the watery agitations.

That such a partition would not at first be chosen by the subsisting population, but would be resisted by it, we may from our own feelings assume. Like our sheep and cattle, and many other classes of birds, fish, and quadrupeds, and

even insects, man is an aggregating creature. Before savage habits and evil passions disunite us into mistrust or hostility, our race loves and seeks to associate together. The natural feelings, by invisible tendrils, intertwine and attach us into social union; fear as well as mutual sympathy inclines us to it; and the affinity which the renewed population, as springing from one patriarch, had with each other, would concur with the moral sensibilities of their nature, to produce and perpetuate this effect, which at last cements all into such national cohesions and similarities that only external violence has been found of sufficient power, when once formed, to dissolve them.

This sentimental tendency must have been strongly augmented by the political considerations of those who were born into human life after the deluge. Awe, and fear, and wonder, and long-continuing alarm would be in every bosom for a considerable time after the catastrophe, which could not but be, for many generations, the predominant subject of their thoughts and conversation. They would feel more safe from calamity by congregating together. They would dread new and unknown regions. They would be afraid to separate, lest disaster should attend them. They would hardly know where to be safe; and therefore the historical fact which the Hebrew Genesis announces to us is quite natural, that they should resolve to live together as one people, and should found a city for their residence and social aggregation, that they might not separate. It is equally probable that in order to protect themselves from a recurrence of overwhelming waters, they should think of forming lofty edifices, in whose upper portions they might find a refuge against such inundations as might rush upon the level plains.* The level of fifteen cubits might have seemed surmountable by human ingenuity.

But this determination to adhere together as one nation, and to become distinguished by remaining such, and thereby becoming in time a multitudinous and mighty population, was in direct opposition to the design of their Creator, in that part of the plan of human nature which was now to be carried into execution. This required that mankind should not grow up into one dense population, or be massed and con-

* Genesis xi. 3, 4.

fined into one vast empire, living in a few overcrowded cities, and thereby occupying a very small portion of the earth. It was not suited to the improvement of human nature, that one uniform system of habits, and manners, and pursuits should pervade all the human race. It was not for the advantage of mankind that there should be only a Chinese form of human nature in the world. It was, therefore, the settled determination of the Creator, that as soon as the renewed population became numerous enough to be divided, they should be disparted and moved into distinct and separated portions, which should be scattered and placed at a distance from each other, and, in these different locations, should gradually be formed into many varieties of mind, manners, and occupations, and be kept aloof from each other until these diversities were secured and established; and afterward should only have that sort of intercourse and relations with each other which the appointed economy of human affairs should make expedient for the accomplishment of the purposes of the divine government.

The united population resisted this intention, and pursued their own schemes to prevent the ordained division and dislocation; and nothing less than a superhuman interposition could have effectuated the separation. But when this was resolved upon, the mode chosen for realizing the divine purpose was one of simple, sagacious, and irresistible operation.

Nothing unites associating mankind more naturally and more cordially than a similarity of language. It creates a social relationship wherever it exists; and the new race had continued, after the deluge, with this interesting and effective band of intellectual kinship.* It was therefore to this that the divine agency was directed. This mental chain of social alliance was broken up. A supernatural operation on their vocal organs and memorial associations, separating the sounds of their utterance from their sensorial ideas, so far as to confound this connexion, and to make certain portions unintelligible to the other, was put into action.† The confusing effect was instantaneous, and the consequences de-

* "And the whole earth was of one language and of one speech;" or, as the Hebrew literally is, "of one lip and of the same words."—Genesis xi. 1.

† "Let us go down and confound their language, that they may not understand one another's speech."—Gen. xi. 7.

cisive. Those who could understand each other would soon collect together, apart from the rest. Every one would separate from those who were incomprehensible by him. The awful change would be felt to be a production of divine power; and being accompanied by a declaration of the great purpose for which it was inflicted, the wiser individuals would soon concur in the counsels of their better judgment, indeed of obvious common sense, and would recommend an immediate obedience to the requisition of that Omnipotence whom it was absurdity to oppose. The mode of execution was easy, by all who were intelligible to each other separating from those who were not so, and by those uniting into little societies who found they could harmonize together. As these would severally live most peaceably and comfortably by themselves, and therefore in a different locality from others, migrations of this sort would be resolved upon; and suitable stations would be selected, either according to such divine suggestions as should be communicated, or according to such natural agencies and circumstances as would then be operating to similar results. The divine purpose was thus accomplished of causing them to settle in different colonizations.*

What history and revelation thus concur to assure us did take place, we may perceive, by glancing at the geographical state of the earth, had been foreseen and provided for, when the configuration and condition of the surface were arranged and settled after the diluvian commotion. If we compare the geological face of the globe with this historical certainty of the division and dispersion of the human population into distinct and separated tribes and nations, and with their permanent continuance in this state, we shall be struck with the manifest adjustment of the one circumstance with the other. For as ground is prepared by human skill and industry to be a garden or fields of corn, so was the surface of the earth put into those shapes and conditions which would correspond with these intended divisions of the human

* "So the Lord scattered them abroad from thence, upon the face of all the earth; and they left off to build the city."—Gen. xi. 8. Of Eber's sons, "the name of one was Peleg: for in his days was the earth divided."—Gen. x. 25. As the word Peleg signifies division, it is reasonably inferred that the disparting of mankind occurred at the period of his nativity, and Peleg was born in the 101st year after the flood.—ib. 10. 12, 14, 16.

race; and which would separate its populations from each other, and keep them in this state, and prevent them from again intermingling and amalgamating, and from ever becoming one people, one empire, one uniform set and kind of assimilated human beings.

The continental land of the earth, that part which the ocean waters did not cover, was therefore not made to be one level plain, one circuitous series of even surface, everywhere cultivable and everywhere accessible, which the human race might traverse with ease and celerity, from north to south, or from east to west. Such facilities of movement and intercourse were reserved for the later ages of the world, of which the present day seems to be a commencement, when art and science would be led to surmount the opposing obstacles of established nature. Our canals, roads, steam-vessels, improved navigation, railroads, and other contrivances of safe and rapid motion, are overcoming distance and impediment, by the applicable resources of mechanical knowledge and experimental assiduity. But communications, passage, conveyance, travelling, and marching with this mutual freedom and rapidity, were inconsistent with the divine purposes in the ancient state of his human world; and therefore every natural obstacle to such intercourse was established in the form and condition of the surface of the earth, at the secession of the diluvian waters, which for many succeeding ages of human nature would prevent such a result. Hence the general superficies was divided into distinct terrestrial compartments, separated from each other by mountains, deserts, forests, lakes, marshes, rivers, wild heaths, and frozen regions, which were long unpenetrated, or inaccessible, or which could not be traversed by mankind, with their ancient means and resources of distant transport. These geological obstructions insulated tribes and nations from each other, and kept them so disparted, and protected them from each other's invasion and hostilities, and made the one even ignorant of the other's existence, and averse to any political intercourse. A slight glance at the state of the earth in this respect will show you how fully and how naturally this special object was provided for and produced.

The portions of the earth which have been ordained to be in the state of sandy deserts, separating large tracts of continent from each other, chiefly prevail in the Asiatic and

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African quarters of the globe, and most extensively in the latter. After a fertile stretch of land along its seashores, the whole northeast portion of Africa has been in this condition, and to a vast extent.* Beyond the Atlas chain of mountains which bound the southern districts of Morocco, that immense desert begins, which spreads into the regions where the negro population commences, and separates them from all land facilities of intercourse with the great civilized nations that have been distinguished in human history.† In South Africa others of the same sort occur;‡ but their extent has not been ascertained, nor do we yet know how much of the central and southeastern territories of this continent may be in this condition. They occur in Turkestan, Arabia, and Syria, and other parts of Asia. All these, which are already known, form a vast zone of deserts, whose united extent has been calculated to spread over a fourth part of the dry land of Asia and Africa.§ Their character is very peculiar, and from this, and from their amazing spread and continuity of extent, they must fulfil some important effect in our present earthly mechanism, which human sagacity has not yet described.||

* "The whole northeast part of Africa consists of a mighty expanse of desert sand, expanding for upward of 1000 miles in each direction. The chains of arid and rocky mountains by which it is traversed, give only a more rugged and dreary character to this immense waste."—Murray, *Encycl. Geog.* p. 1144.

† "Then follows the immense ocean of desert, nearly 3000 miles in length and 1000 in breadth, reaching across the whole continent from east to west, and from north to south, between latitude 15° and 30°. The sterility of the scene is only interrupted by a narrow line of not above half a mile, formed by the course of the Nile through Nubia, and by a few islands, or oases, scattered at wide intervals over this immeasurable waste; these spots affording springs, verdure, and a few days' support to a scanty population."—*Ib.* p. 1136.

‡ "In South Africa, some late observers, in travelling inland from the Cape, have caught a glimpse of vast expanses of desert, reported almost to rival those at the opposite extremity of the continent."—*Ib.* p. 1136.

§ "The sandy zone includes also the eastern part of the great Alpine girdle. It is therefore more accurate to consider it as extending across the African continent in a band of 13° in breadth. From the Red Sea it turns a little to the northward; and in the form of a truncated triangle, resting upon the sea as a basis, it reaches obliquely across the continent of Asia, to the 50th degree of latitude and the 120th of longitude; including Northern Africa, Arabia, Persia, Cabul, Bucharra, Sind, Thibet, and the western part of Chinese Tartary; and embracing an area of 6,500,000 square miles, or nearly one fourth of the two continents through which it passes."—*Encyc. Brit.* p. 158.

|| "This tract is characterized by vast desert plains, formed of very light moveable sands, which assume the form of waves, by burning

In Europe they are rare, and nearly as much so in America, though in the southern regions of this continent there are occasionally some indications of them.*

At both the poles, the freezing severity of the cold makes nearly all within the Arctic circle uninhabitable by men, and causes the lower districts which are contiguous to these, to be but little occupied or visited by the human race.† For their occupation, that portion of the globe which forms the temperate and torrid zones, contains the only regions that have been provided and fitted. In these mountains have been established, which were intended to keep mankind apart from each other, and to make all access between them long impossible, and at all times difficult. They have been found important protectors of the independence of nations, and most useful repressions of that grasping ambition which military power and activity have so often cherished and sought to indulge, at the expense of human liberty and comfort. It is from their position and effects in the structure of the surface, that the present form of the regions of the earth principally arises.‡ Mountains have also in them other re-

and pestilential winds; by an extraordinary aridity and want of rivers; and by an abundant formation of salt, sometimes deposited like a crust on the surface, sometimes mixed with the inferior salt. Except the Indus and the Oxus, there is not a river of any size within this immense region, which is twice as large as Europe."—Encyc. Brit. p. 158.

* "There are no real deserts in South America, except a narrow tract of rock and quicksands on the coast of Peru, between Coquimbo and Lima, on which no rain ever falls."—Humboldt, Pers. Narr. vol. 4.

† "A permanent zone of ice surrounds each pole, the breadth of which varies with the seasons. In a general point of view, the icebound seas and lands are nearly continuous with the Arctic circle in the northern hemisphere, and with the parallel of 60° in the south. In the one case, they occupy one twelfth, in the other about one seventh of the hemisphere."—Enc. Ed. S. p. 169. "It is not quite agreed that any navigator has been within 60° degrees of the North Pole, although some accounts pretend to a still nearer approach. The failure of Capt. Cook's attempt to penetrate to the South Pole gave rise to an idea that it is surrounded with fixed ice to the distance of eighteen or 19 degrees. A recent Russian expedition could not get beyond 70° 8'. But Mr. Weddell reached 255 miles nearer the pole, and contends that the South Pole must be free from ice."—Murray, Enc. Geog. p. 185.

‡ "If we consider the old continent attentively, we shall find that its general form, the declivity of its surface, and the course of its rivers, are chiefly determined by one great zone of mountains, which traverse it from one extremity to the other, at the mean latitude of 40° north. This Alpine girdle has its origin on the shores of the Atlantic, between the parallels of 30° and 42°; from which, in several chains, under the names

sults of great importance to mankind, and appear to occupy, altogether, a portion of its surface not much less than that which has been assigned to be sandy desert.*

It is quite absurd to make it a complaint against Providence, that deserts, forests and mountains, swamps and lakes, abstract so large a portion of the land surface of the earth from the use and habitation of mankind; because we see that, notwithstanding the existence of these, a far greater portion of cultivable land than men were ever meant to occupy, has been left free for them to appropriate to their use, whenever it should be needed. But so far have they been from wanting to use what was fully accessible and applicable, that they have, in all ages, permitted a very large proportion indeed of good and fertile land to remain in the state of forests of great extent, although every tree that they consist of is removable at any time by human skill and industry. Wherever they choose to reside, they soon level the forest and clear the ground.

For their actual habitation and use, both plains and valleys have been copiously formed, in the distribution of the new surface. Prolific valleys accompany all the mountains and hills, and mostly abound with the richest vegetation. A great portion of the north of Europe and Asia presents a spacious plain, fit for the cultivation of all that its population

of Atlas on the south, and the Pyrenees, Alps, and Mount Hemus on the north, it passes into Asia. There, under the names of Caucasus, Taurus, and Elbourz, it is continued eastward to 70° of longitude. At this meridian it divides into two branches, one of which, the Himalaya range, takes a direction S. E., and terminates within 500 miles of the Bay of Bengal. The other, Mount Altai and Yablouny, passes north-eastward to the Pacific Ocean at lat. 55°. Its entire length is 8000 miles to 140° E. long. Its breadth varies from 500 to 2000 miles.—Enc. Brit. S. p. 156.

* "This great Mediterranean band of mountains may be considered as the spine of the ancient continent. It determines the direction and elevation of the surface over nine tenths of Europe and Asia, one fifth of Africa, the course of all the great rivers in the old world, except the Nile and the Niger, and in some measure the climate of the different regions. It encloses within its extreme branches Spain, Barbary, Italy, Switzerland, Southern Germany, Hungary, the Mediterranean Isles, Turkey in Europe and Asia, Persia, Bucharra, Thibet, and Chinese Tartary; all of which countries consist either of table land, or of valleys placed between the different chains.

"The surface of this mountainous zone occupies a space of 5,000,000 of square miles, and embraces Persia, Phœnicia, Assyria, Asia Minor, Greece, and Italy, all the early seats of civilization."—*ib.* p. 157.

need for their comfortable subsistence.* A similar amplitude of the same description of soil spreads along the eastern dimensions of Asia, but not in all parts equally serviceable.† In Africa the plains are of smaller size, from her vastitude of desert; but in South America, a uniform tract of level country extends into an immense expansion of soil, mostly uncultivated, part of which sustains millions of animals useful to man.‡ North America also presents an abundance of prairies and savannas, full of the most exuberant vegetation;§ the whole presenting to human industry a quantity of ground which would, at all times, supply several multiples of the largest amount of human population that has ever been co-existing on our globe, if it is well, properly, and sufficiently cultivated and attended to.

Besides these habitable and uninhabitable, or less habita-

* "Commencing from the eastern shores of the North Sea and the Baltic, it extends in one vast plain, unbroken by a single chain of mountains, except the Urals, to the North Pacific Ocean. This plain, the largest on the globe, including generally the whole space between the 50th and 70th parallels, has an average breadth of 1400 miles, and a length of about 6000, and comprehends an area of 6,500,000 square miles, or rather more than one fourth of Europe and Asia. It embraces the western part of France, all Holland, Northern Germany, Prussia, and the whole of Russia."—Enc. Brit. S. p. 158.

† "From the longitude of 30° to the eastern extremity of Asia, a vast plain extends; one fifth of which declines to the Black Sea and Caspian, the other four fifths to the Frozen Ocean. Between the parallels of 50° and 60° the soil is generally capable of culture, and in many places rich; but it is intermixed with extensive sandy deserts."—*lb.*

‡ "The low region of this continent is divided into three great plains, which form the basins of the three principal rivers, the Orinoco, the Amazon, and the Plata. The Llanos and Pampas afford pasturage to millions of cattle."—Maclaren. 159. . . . "In the northern corner is that great expanse of the Llanos of the Orinoco, estimated at 261,000 miles, covered with gigantic grasses, yet still almost uncultivated; while in the southern part, the immense surface of the Pampas, bordering the Plata, displays its fertility only by the numberless herds of wild cattle which have multiplied amid its pastures. The area, according to Humboldt, comprehends 1,215,000 miles."—Murray, Enc. Geo. 1239.

§ Of "the plains of America we may remark three systems: one is the plain along the Atlantic between that ocean and the eastern range of mountains: to this belong the original territory of the United States and that of Brazil: the former, moderately; the latter, luxuriously fertile. The second plain is that on the opposite side of the continent, between the great western chain and the Atlantic. But the plains which extend through the centre of the continent, between the great ranges of the eastern and western mountains, are of prodigious extent, exceeding even those which cover so great a part of Africa and Asia. They are almost throughout completely watered, and overgrown in many places with even ~~an excessive~~ *an excessive* luxuriance of vegetation."—*lb.*

ble parts of the earth, a proportion as great as that which has been subjected to cultivation, and anciently of a far larger quantity, has remained in the state of forests of varying magnitude. These have, in every age, contributed largely to keep nations aloof from each other, and in their independent state, and even ignorant of each other's existence or approachable vicinity, that neither might intrude on the other. Their existence proves the fitness of the soil for productive husbandry of some sort or other; and it also shows that the space they occupy has not yet been wanted by mankind—for wherever man chooses to settle and till, he soon levels the unresisting trees by axe or by fire, and, in no long time, clears the soil he wants of her umbrageous tenants.* They supply him, indeed, with the materials of all those conveniences and useful structures which his art and labour can make wood and timber of every kind to furnish to him. Moveable at all times by his will and power, they do him no injury by subsisting until he requires the space they fill; and when they fall at his command, they benefit him by all the fabrications to which they are converted. Thus they operate to repress human restlessness and diffusion, while these would be injurious; but are removable at all times by moderate labour, when an improved population requires more territory for its subsistence. The separation by the seas is of the same vincible nature. In the earliest ages, men like the Egyptians dreaded and shunned it. It was visited and passed only by slow degrees, as some nations improved in commerce and knowledge—but was meant to be as traversable as land, in the appointed period of general intercourse and communicated benefits.

Such are the leading features and state into which the surface of our globe has been purposely arranged, as far as it is connected with my present subject to notice them. As but a comparatively small portion of it was wanted for that amount of population which the Deity has chosen should only be on the earth at the same time, such a portion only,

* The northern plains of America are "overspread with dreary pine forests." . . . The "vast and luxuriant plain in the heart of South America, is covered as yet with unbroken native forests, and tenanted by rude and savage tribes. Humboldt reckons it at 2,340,000 miles."—Murray, *Enc. Geo.* 1289. . . . All the other parts of the world still contain forests of varying size. One of 80 miles long extends in Servia still beyond Belgrade.

in its various regions, has been cultivated and inhabited by mankind : and what they have used and needed, it has been his will that they should occupy, in dispersed and often scattered divisions. The event has attested to us, that it has been his lasting determination that the human race should never be coalesced into one mass, one dense nation, or one empire ; nor that the portion of the earth which they would require for their subsistence, should be in one connected extent. They are, therefore, spread and settled in almost every region of the habitable portions, although only partially cultivating most, and in many rather traversing them in changeable migrations, than fixing themselves to colonize in abiding permanence.

From these facts it is obvious, that the remainder of the surface, all that man does not thus occupy, even where he is residing, has been created for other purposes than those which relate to his existence. Some of these appertain to the sustentation and perpetuation of the whole terraqueous fabric ; but besides all such applications, we perceive that the largest portion of our surface is under the occupation of two grand divisions of organic life, which appear in the vegetable and animal kingdoms. Of these, the most extensive occupants are the classes of the former. Trees, shrubs, herbs, grass, and the floral plants, which seem to have been made expressly for their beauty and for pleasing us, and all that can be sensible of pleasure from it, are everywhere diffused. Sand and flinty rock alone repel their germination, and yet even in these homes of barrenness some species of vegetation will emerge into visible life. But wherever there is vegetable, there is also animal existence. Birds, insects, reptiles, worms, and quadrupeds of some kind or other, soon appear when any of the means of their nutrition arise, and from the universal occupancies of the parts, which man does not need or appropriate, by these orders of living things, the inference is obvious and certain, that our earth has been formed for them, and with reference to their subsistence and multiplication as well as for ours, though we are yet unable to discern what are the particular designs and ends which their Creator has had in view in framing, diffusing, and supporting them. Their immense numbers, and most curious and accurate formations, however, imply, that they fulfil some important objects in the scheme

of our earthly creation, though these are what we are not yet competent, for want of superior information, to ascertain. The fact also that certain vegetables are confined to certain districts or limits, and that almost every country possesses a vegetation peculiar to itself, evinces a special exertion of thought and invention in the creation of the various plants which exist, so that they should be adapted to the localities in which they were intended to appear. The material agents by which they are affected are heat, light, moisture, soil, and atmosphere; but the state of these differs in the various climates and regions of the globe. That such plants should exist in each country as the peculiar operation of these different elements will suit and favour, is an evidence how carefully the device and structure have been adapted to the external agencies that were to act upon them.* It is this expenditure of deliberating and adjusting thought, which leads the mind to infer that there are greater objects and purposes connected with them than we have yet explored. The student of the divine philosophy of creation has here a large field for his most searching meditations. But at present, clouds and darkness rest upon it. The Scriptures give us no assisting ideas on the subject. They only represent to us, that every animal has the powers and qualities which the Almighty has chosen for it, and which none but himself could have given; and that the smallest animal, the least valued sparrow, is an object of his notice and providence, as well as the human race. He has equally connected the vegetable kingdom

* "The palms, the tree ferns, the parasitical orchids, are ever confined to the tropics; the cruciferous and umbelliferous plants almost exclusively to the temperate regions; while the coniferous plants, and many of the amentaceous tribes flourish in those of the north."—Mur-ray's Enc. Geo. p. 230.

"In tropical countries, the form, the colour, and the odour of plants, are developed to the utmost. Here the palm rears its towering stem, and sends forth its gigantic leaves. Groves abound, ever verdant, blooming, and productive. As we recede from the equator, the palm tribe and many others become gradually fewer; and at last entirely give way to deciduous plants, or plants hybernating or sleeping in the colder season; and which vegetate only in the warmer season of the year.

"In tropical countries, the leaf buds of plants are without covering or protection, and freely exposed to the atmosphere; but, in climates where the seasons change, the leaf buds are provided, almost invariably, with coverings, within which they are cradled."—Dr. Prout's Bridg. Treat. p. 373-4.

with his creative and continued care. These truths mark the importance in his sight and in his system, both of plants and of the animated classes, but give no elucidation of his particular ends and purposes, which are accomplished by their existence.*

On the divine purposes connected with the new state of the surface which followed the deluge, we may remark, that it must have been intentionally adapted to suit and produce the permanent and regular consequences which have resulted from it. It must have been so disposed and settled, that an agricultural soil should be the uppermost bed; that the under strata should be such as would keep this in constant fertility in its general extent; that a sufficient quantity of moisture, and no more, should be retained near it; and the rest be kept in springs, channels, and reservoirs, not deeper than would suit human use and convenience; and that the coal beds should be so distributed in the various regions of the earth, as to be ready to supply the need of fuel to mankind, when the progress of civilization had cut down the forests, and should, therefore, not be overwhelmed by any masses of strata which would make them inaccessible or undiscoverable. The same precautionary care was equally necessary as to the metals, and to the many earths and minerals which would be wanted in the arts and workmanship of human life, and especially in that powerful instrument of improvement, the iron metal.

The surface required also to be formed and adjusted with due regard to the quantity of evaporation that was to issue from it, and to the sustained continuity of this unceasing operation—to the dews that were to arise—and to the constitution and maintenance of the atmosphere—and to the production of the proper temperature in each clime and

* There has been obviously a designed and regulated system established and pursued in the growth, localizations, and adaptations of plants. "As we withdraw from the equator, vegetation is on a less magnificent scale. Number in some degree compensates for magnitude. Thus, instead of the single stupendous tuft of the palm, we have numerous congregated buds of our deciduous trees. Instead of the gigantic and solitary grasses of the torrid zone, we have the smaller and gregarious varieties. Some of these, as the cerealia or corn tribe, with their myriads of seeds, give us an inexhaustible supply of farinaceous aliment. Others, as the grasses, properly so called, clothe our meadows with verdure, even to extreme latitudes, and are equally productive of ~~wealth~~ purely herbaceous."—Dr. Prout's *Bridg. Treat.* p. 386.

season, with all which things the earth and its interior strata are materially connected.

Another principle must have also influenced the deposition, contents, and position of the surface rocks in the state we now find them, which our scientific men are only as yet beginning to attend to; and this is, the presence or production, distribution and movement of the electric, caloric, and magnetic fluids. It is probable that on these, and upon the effect of the present composition of the earth with respect to them, the system of our weather, our winds, and storms, lightnings, vegetation, animal motivity, and all the meteoric phenomena, in no small degree depend. None of these could be what they are, or act as they do, if the rocky masses that we move upon had not been what they are, if there be any connexion between the one and the other.*

The last formation of the surface must have also been

* The new facts that have been recently observed concerning the electrical relations of the earths and metals, imply that they are not useless or inefficient in their subterraneous positions. Mr. Fox has observed that the metalliferous veins have a real electricity; this, from its very nature, cannot be an inactive property. Mr. Henwood has repeated Mr. Fox's experiments in 40 or 50 places, and considers his results to confirm them. Mr. Fox is disposed to refer some of the phenomena of terrestrial magnetism to electric currents existing in these veins. Mr. Faraday has discovered that electrical currents are not only excited during the motion of metals, but that such currents are transmitted by them. Mr. Christie found that a peculiar polarity is imparted to iron by the simple act of rotation, and Mr. Arago, that analogous effects take place during the rotation of all metals.

Electrical currents are excited in the earth, in consequence of the rotation with which the phenomena of magnetism are thought to be connected. See Mr. Christie's Report Brit. Assoc. 1811, p. 117-8.

Dr. Prout remarks, "We must suppose currents of electricity to circulate *within the earth*, and more especially near its surface, and to be continually passing from east to west in planes parallel to the magnetic equator. These would explain the magnetic directive property of the earth."—Dr. Prout's Bridg. Treat. p. 232. Mr. Faraday has found that numerous substances are non-conductors of electricity in a solid state, but become good conductors when fluid or when frozen; and it has been stated that he has discovered that the ethereal fluid enters as a truly constituent part of all bodies.

These ideas show that the nature, position, and local distributions of the rocks and superincumbency of their strata, should be studied now with regard to their electrical relations and effects, as their formations and arrangements must have been adjusted to these.

Until these are ascertained, we shall not be able to discover the true philosophy of the geological structure of the earth. But these considerations also give us additional reasons to infer, that scientific plans and *foreseeing* and adapting care have been essentially required in its

regulated and governed, for the seas to be in the stations they occupy, and to be lastingly confined within the boundaries in which we find them. A proportioned expanse of cavity was necessary for this effect, and an adapted depression of the land towards them, with a due elevation of the interior soil into such higher ground as would admit the rivers to roll down their superfluous streams. All these effects, and numerous others which need not here be detailed, required a peculiar arrangement of the last surface rocks, and of their metals and minerals, or the uses and benefits which have resulted from them would not have occurred. Specific plans, supernatural agency, and a directing execution, appear in every part. Nothing could have been left to chance, or mere natural sequences, on such subjects as these. We shall not err, if we believe that our habitable ground and its under strata were formed as deliberately and scientifically, as a palace or cathedral has been constructed by human art and care. The structure will never be intelligible to us without this supposition.

It is not necessary to suppose that when Noah left the ark the whole earth was divested of the waters. No larger portion would be at first required for the use of living beings, than the space which their subsistence needed. As mankind and animals increased, more regions of dry land would be wanted; but it would be quite sufficient for their convenience if the waters withdrew in proportion as they spread. I mention this, because the rocks, in many parts, seem to indicate, that several great districts were under water much longer than others. The limestone masses are unequally distributed, and occur in peculiar lines and portions. They are as much wanting in some regions, as they are vast and continuous in others. Hence the process of forming the surface may have been in gradual operation in many countries, for several centuries after the deluge, before human population had extended itself to them.

Asia first nourished the renewed race; and while man spread within it, the European continent may have been under the dominion of the waters. It is thought that Europe, for some time, consisted of a series of immense lakes, or internal seas, between the acclivities or the roots of its construction, so that every part might be compared and placed according to the laws and designed effects and changes of this potent fluid.

great mountains. This may have been so. It was an ancient opinion that Thessaly was a lake. It is now thought, that the country through which the Rhine flows was likewise such. The basin in which the Lake of Constance still remains, was one of these. Another has been traced in Baden, from Upper Alsace to Mentz. A series of the same sort has been found to accompany the course of the Danube. Bavaria was a vast lake : the Austrian dominions, from Passau ; and another up to Presburg. Hungary is a great circular basin of an anterior sea. The Bannat is another, but smaller. The plains of Moldavia and Wallachia, up to the Black Sea, present a similar valley, that was once covered with water. The Black Sea, the Sea of Marmora, and the Mediterranean, are but a continuation of these ; but being the lowest of all these regions, and on a level with the general ocean, the waters here remain as seas, because they cannot find a lower place.*

The gradual dissemination of mankind and of animals must have been always governed by the state of each locality.

One consequence of this inundated state of many parts of the earth would be, that marine plants would overspread its surface below the waters, and that its first inhabitants, where they prevailed, would be marine animals. Shellfish

* Aristotle notices the changes of countries by the gradual disappearance of their waters from them. "This happened to Hellas, and about the regions of Argos and Mycenæ; for in the Trojan times, the regions about Argos being in a watery state could maintain but few; whereas Mycenæ was better off in this respect, and therefore had the higher honour; but now, its land has altogether dried up and become sterile. What was then barren from its lake state, has now become productive.

"What has happened in this district, which is small, has also occurred in extensive places and in whole regions; for many parts which were formerly under water have now become continents, and the contrary. In many places the sea has come upon the land."—Arist. Meteor. 368. He remarks this change in Egypt. "The watery places drying by degrees, the neighbouring districts became inhabited. We say that the Egyptians are the most ancient of men, but all their region appears to have been made, and to be the waste of the river."—Ib.

"The places near the Red Sea sufficiently show this. One of their kings tried to break through the Isthmus here. Sesostris is said to have been the first of the ancients who tried this, but he found the sea higher than the land. Hence it is manifest that all these things were one continued sea. Wherefore it appears that the part about Libya, the Arabian region, is lower and more hollow."—Ib.

would multiply on the banks and ground beneath. Fish would float, live, and die in the moving streams above; while every summer, as the mountain ices melted, and the spring rains descended, the rivers would bring currents of disintegrated hills, and of muddy soil, to deposite on the beds over which they should flow; and thus, every year, or at frequent intervals, forming new layers of strata from the materials they would carry with them. These facts will account for rocky masses and strata with no fossil remains, but those of marine animals and plants. As long as the waters anywhere covered the surface, these only could live and multiply in them; and, therefore, all the earliest relics of organized life must have been, and are found now to be, of this description. It was not until the ground became divested of the superincumbent fluid, that quadrupeds could occupy, or that land-vegetation could be diffused. These would be the next occupants, and the only ones, until human colonizations penetrated into the regions. But it is everywhere found, that the animal classes diffuse themselves more rapidly than the human race, whom plants and forests always precede.

The next series of remains, after the marine, will therefore be of quadrupeds and dry-ground plants and trees. Bones of mankind will be rare; and rarer from the habit of many tribes of burning their dead. Even where this custom did not prevail, the social habit of congregating in towns, and of being buried in some general cemetery, would prevent any human fossils from appearing in the rocks and strata of the earth, or anywhere but in close vicinity to these frequented cities.

But we must not mistake the local appearances of only the simple marine plants and animals, as evidences that no other then existed on the earth; or when the fossil remains of quadrupeds solely are found, infer that man had not then been created. His absence proves that his population had not spread into those parts where he has left no relics of his presence; but it proves no more—non-diffusion is not non-existence.*

* On the main principle of this letter, I quote with much pleasure a fine passage of the Rev. A. Sedgwick's concluding address to the British Association of Cambridge in 1833;—"There is in the intellect of man an appetite for the discovery of general truth; and by this appetite,"
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LETTER XXIII.

The Natural Scenery of the Earth made to be everywhere Beautiful and Interesting—Instances of its Effect on various Minds in the different Regions of the World.

MY DEAR SON,

OUR considerations on the surface which was established at the deluge, for the subsistence and habitation of mankind and of the rest of animated nature, have been directed to the effects and utilities which have been derived from it, in producing and maintaining the present course of nature, the social economy of mankind, and their general convenience and comfort. But as we contemplate the aspect of all that surrounds us, we can read most legibly in the expanded volume of nature before us, that another principle of the divine Mind has been in liberal activity for our benefit; and this is that affectionate regard for his human race, which the Scriptures term the love of God for man, which goes far beyond what we term reasoning or philosophic philanthropy, or that moral principle which contents itself with seeking the welfare of its human objects. He has not been satisfied with doing us good, and providing largely for our necessities and wellbeing; his feeling towards us has been more kind and endearing. He has been solicitous to give us pleasure in his various creations, as well as food, comfort, and safety. He has, therefore, enlarged his plan and contrivances, to add multiplied and diversified means of easy and continual enjoyment, beyond our bodily gratifications; purely to ex-

in subordination to the capacities of his mind, has he been led on to the discovery of general laws; and thus, his soul has been fitted to reflect back upon the world a portion of the counsels of his Creator. If I have said that physical phenomena, unless connected with the ideas of order and of law, are of little worth, I may farther say, that an intellectual grasp of material laws of the highest order has no moral worth, except it be combined with another movement of the mind, raising it to the perception of an intelligent FIRST CAUSE. It is by help of this last movement that nature's language is comprehended; that her laws become pregnant with meaning; that material phenomena are instinct with life; that all moral and material changes become linked together; and that truth, under whatever forms she may present herself, seems to have but one essential substance."—Report Brit. Assoc. 1833, p. 222.

cite pleasurable sensation in us, and to make us happy, while he sustained and blessed us with all that our daily wants require.

In the former letters, the operation of this principle of the divine love for mankind was brought to your notice in the remarks on the floral beauties of creation, and on the rich fruits which his vegetable bounty has provided so numerous for us. Its activity is not less visible in his arrangements, configuration, and investiture of the present surface of our earth. He has so managed these dispositions of it, that the natural scenery which it presents to us is in every region expanding around us a continual succession of visual beauties, which excite the mind in every country to an exhilarating delight. He has so shaped and distributed the masses, rocks, hills, valleys, mountains, and plains of our earth, and so clothed them with plants and trees, that their appearances at due intervals, and in ever-varying succession, are always cheering and interesting to the human eye.

It is by the deliberate and skilful placing and forming them into the fit outlines and figures, and with the due mutual relations, colours, and contrasts, that they raise within us, as we approach them, those intellectual emotions to which we attach the terms sublime and beautiful, picturesque and charming, wild, interesting, and elegant, with many other epithets that mark the gladdening sensations and pleasing sympathies which we experience from them. Every one feels effects of this sort, who looks around him at the natural scenery of the country in which he resides, or through which he may be travelling. Whatever be the region and quarter of the globe that he traverses, whether in the torrid, the temperate, or even the frigid zone, still his eye is struck with views and prospects which animate and please him. The variety of the local causes of these impressions is infinite; but the intellectual effect is universal and unceasing. Beauty and grandeur, the admirable, the interesting, the welcomed awful, the attractive strange, the gratifying peculiar, something that elevates, or soothes, or captivates, or pleasingly excites; something that causes a feeling of interior delight, is perpetually occurring to him as he moves over the territorial surface, whatever clime he may be visiting. The hand of nature, or rather the creative mind of its divine Maker and Master, is ever placing before him, in tasteful

combinations and successions, pictures of natural scenery and phenomena, that exhilarate or astonish him ; and that have suggested all the beauties of the artificial landscapes which poets have sung, and which the genius of our imitating arts has so captivately painted. So much contrast of a different description is intermingled, as makes what is pleasing more pleasurable, and prevents the gratification from becoming too uniform and satiating ; and from this varying intermixture, even the disagreeable ceases to be so, as it always enhances our relish for what is otherwise, and increases our desire to meet with something more interesting. The result of the combined whole is, that travelling is always delightful, and change of scene a continual recreation to the mind ; since we can go nowhere without feeling gratifying emotions and sensations to be rising within us, from the new places we gaze upon, whatever be the district to which our bodily movement may take us.

Impressions so perpetual and universal as these, can never be individual imaginations only. They must arise from local and beheld realities—from external things actually subsisting, of such a nature and character, and with such relations and associations, as to cause the feelings and perceptions to occur to us which we so generally experience from them. But for effects like these to be so constant, there must have been a correspondent plan, construction, and arrangement of what thus causes them ; and these must have been designed and made with foreseen anticipations of their effect, and with due adaptations to our nervous sensitivities, for the express purpose of exciting in our spirit, through and by these, the emotions and impressions which we are conscious of from them. These creative provisions are not of one sort only. The pleasure is not of one kind merely,—no single charm. The scenes and objects which produce it are exceedingly multifarious and diversified. They may be mentioned by the enumeration of thousands, without our reaching their amount. The invention which has contrived, and the condescending goodness which has executed, what it designed, must have had no limit. They must have been studiously devised and elaborately produced ; and with generous desire to multiply our gratifications by very numerous *diversity*, for they are as varied and as exuberant as the *results* are universally and individually interesting. Yet all

are perpetually accomplishing their appointed end. Every form and diversity is, in all regions, followed by the assigned result. One generation dies, and new ones succeed ; but nature and its beauties know no mortality. They create the same pleasures in every series of our population. Indeed, time rather increases than diminishes the delight ; for as the mind improves, it becomes more sensitive to this intellectual enjoyment ; and nature's enlarging productivity augments the size and abundance of her vegetating scenery.

The immensity of the provision, thus lavishly made for our gratification, may be inferred by us, if we recollect what a vast surface the Deity had to cover and to adorn, by this pleasure-giving beneficence—a globe of 24,000 miles in circumference ! What a prodigious area of superficies does this present to us ! Yet over all this, he has not only placed everywhere the necessary and the useful, but also the agreeable and the alluring, the grand, the beautiful, the striking, the ever-interesting, and, in many parts, even what enchants and enraptures. We all feel this, but we do not sufficiently remember it with reference to him as the Designer as well as the Giver of it. We do not advert to the surprising fact, that he has planned and contrived it ; and that he provided it on purpose to be a continual source of enjoyment and happiness to us ; and to be also promotive of, and to be accompanied by, great intellectual improvement and moral benefit. As these are the effects resulting from them, we cannot err in saying that these were the motives and principles on which he devised and formed them. Admirable and gracious was the plan ! Admirable, and felicitating, and ameliorating have been its execution and results !

But it will be better to let others speak for themselves, instead of our indulging in any verbal encomium. Let us inquire what travellers and navigators have felt, and found, and described external nature everywhere to be. Their sensations and emotions are the facts on this subject which it is always desirable to know and to consider ; because no reasoning is of any service or value which is not based upon actual and ascertained truth and knowledge ; and these are presented to us, in every case, by the facts which relate to it.

Let us begin our inquiry into the feelings of our fellow-beings, as to the various parts of nature, with that element

which most of us, when absent from it, and in our towns, and by our firesides, think of, mostly, with dread and dislike—THE SEA. But what are their sensations who contemplate its realities, and have experienced their effect!

On the voyage from Biscay to the Cape de Verd Islands, a landsman on his first voyage, says,—

“We were delighted by the interesting phenomena peculiar to these latitudes; the thousands of flying fish; the beautiful bonito and dolphin; the voracious shark, of which we caught several; the glories of the rising and setting sun; and during the night, the phosphoric brightness of the waves and spray; the gradual sinking of the north polar star, and the rising of the beautiful constellations of the southern hemisphere.”—Hoole's *Personal Narrative*, p. 3.

The Pacific Ocean—after passing Cape Horn towards Peru:

“We are under a press of sail, ten miles an hour, fanned by a balmy breeze. The ship hastens on in all her accustomed stateliness and beauty; and with so much steadiness, that we are scarcely sensible of the slightest motion. The name is appropriate—the last three weeks has satisfied us of this. But for the deep blue of the surface, we might fancy ourselves sailing on the placid bosom of a lake. We are now off the coast of Peru. The beauty of the sky and clouds is here very peculiar, and, I should think, unrivalled in any other part of the world. Towards evening and early in the morning, I have seen at the same time clouds of almost every colour in different parts of the heavens, and of hues I never beheld there before; as, a rich and perfect green, amber, and carmine; while the hemisphere round the rising or setting sun has been one blaze of glory. Last night the tinge of the ocean was of a perfect blood colour, from the reflection of a fleecy veil of crimson clouds.”—*Ib.* p. 81.

Even the agitations and tempests of the ocean, however disturbing and alarming, are yet as interesting as they are awful.

“Imagine the mountains of the land to be rolling in every direction with high and broken swells over the lake and valley. So monstrous are the billows around us, and so rapid in their succession, that before the ship in her descent is half-way down the abyss between them, the next sea often collects to a tremendous height above her bowsprit, over which it appears impossible for her to rise. Still she as often mounts and rides on its summit. But as she plunges from the top of one wave to the

gulf below, and after a momentary pause is forced up to the height of another, every timber groans in the effort, and at times she trembles in her keel, as if foundering in the struggle.

"Evening: the storm has rapidly abated, but the sea is still dreadfully high. Almost every wave washes our decks."—Stewart's Journal, p. 40-1.

When the gales have subsided, we read—

"The air is as mild and balmy as that of a morning in May. Before, we could not see 200 yards, for the green billows heaping in mountains around us. Now we can look in any direction for many miles over a beautiful surface of deep blue, variegated here and there by the snowy curvings of a breaking wave,"—*Ib.* p. 46.

Even the renewed violence of the wind brings with it gratifying emotions.

"28th Dec.—A violent squall, sails reefed, wind and rain continue, though abated, yet it produced on my mind the effect of enjoyment. The low and scudding clouds, the driving rain, the sullen heavings of the ocean, the roaring of the water at the prow, the rapidity with which we dash from wave to wave, while our lee gunwales are almost buried in the deep, though they give an aspect of suffering and danger to all around, yet induce a musing mood which I have found delightful.

"On deck nothing is heard but the creaking of masts and yards, and the rattling of the cordage, while the officers in their watchcoats and tarpawling caps stand at their respective posts, and the sailors shelter themselves from the worst of the storm, under the lee of the boat or weather bulwark of the ship. But a situation of personal comfort, a sense of safety, is essential to this kind of enjoyment. It is the contrast that yields the principal pleasure."—*Ib.* p. 53.

More pleasing scenes soon occur.

"For the first time I had the sight of a dolphin, one of the most beautiful of the inhabitants of the sea. Its general length is about two feet. When swimming in the water, its colours appear exceedingly delicate and beautiful. The head, breast, and upper part of the sides vary from the hues of burnished steel to those of deep azure and mazarine blue, shading off towards the under parts in pea green and light yellow; the head-fins are sky blue; and those of the tail, pale green terminating in yellow. Its colours, when dying, are truly beautiful; consisting of rapid transitions from the deepest purple, through blue, green, gold of different hues, and several shades of silver, to an almost snow white, and then to purple again. The sight was painful, from a

kind of sympathy with the beautiful sufferer. The colours soon became less and less brilliant, and in five minutes entirely disappeared."—Stewart's Journal, p. 53.

The very varieties of fine and stormy weather, make each other more interesting to the voyager. The new activities required increase the interest.

"Cape of Good Hope.—On the 8th of July, the depth of winter in this hemisphere, a strong northwester came on, before which we went 240 miles in twenty-four hours. Nothing more delightful than the commencement of such a fair wind. The sea is then smooth, and the ship seems literally to fly along; the masts and yards bend forward as if they would drop over the bows, while the studding-sail booms crack and twist. So long as the surface of the sea is plane, it is astonishing what a vast expanse of canvass may be spread to the rising gale. But, by-and-by, it becomes prudent to take in the royals, flying-jib, and topgallant studding-sails. The boatswain looks to the fastenings of the boats and booms. The different minor heads of departments also smell the gale coming on, and each in his respective walk gets things ready to meet it."—Captain Hall's *Fragm.* v. ii. p. 181.

"Of all these forerunners of a gale, none is more striking than the repeated looks of anxiety which the captain casts to windward, as if his glance could discover in the black sky lowering in the northwest, how long with safety he may carry sail. He shifts his look, ever and anon, from the wind's eye to the writhing spars aloft, viewing with much uneasiness the stretching canvass, all but torn from the yards. He then steps below, and for the fortieth time reads off the barometer, and, acknowledging to himself that the mercury is falling rapidly, half makes up his mind to shorten sail before something goes. Returning to deck, he finds the breeze has freshened. The men, aware of the necessity of shortening sail, collect in groups on the upper deck; at last the tardy voice of the commander is heard giving the reluctant order—"Turn the hands up! Shorten sail!"

"'All hands shorten sail!' calls out the boatswain, with a louder note than usual. The stationed men lower away the balliards and ease off the tacks, while others gather in the sails as they come down."—*ib.* p. 187-8.

An evening atmosphere at sea has been thus described to us:

"For half an hour before and after sunset, the whole heaven, *except* a quarter circle in the west, was covered by dense lowering clouds.. The elevation of the unshaded arch was not more

than five degrees, and under it, on the farthest horizon, a line and mass of vapour extended, so greatly resembling a distant coast, that if we had not known it to be impossible, no vision or glasses could have satisfied us that it was not the American continent. The rays of the sun, entirely shut out by the heavy canopy above, came to us only in splendid reflections from this fairy realm, and presented a succession of mountains, and groves, and spires, and turrets, and towers, all in the richest colouring, and glittering with silver. Suddenly the sun burst from behind its dark drapery, and in an instant the whole mass of clouds, over and around us, was changed from the blackness of night to the brightest crimson; while the sea, that before was shrouded as in a funeral pall, gleamed with the mingled reflections of purple and gold. It was a scene of enchantment."—*Stewart's Voyage*, p. 69.

Captain Beechey thus describes one of his nights as he sailed towards the Arctic Ocean :

"We approached the strait which separates the two great continents of Asia and America, on one of those beautiful still nights, well known to all who have visited the arctic regions, when the sky is without a cloud, and when the MIDNIGHT SUN, scarcely his own diameter below the horizon, tinges with a bright hue all the northern circle. Our ship, propelled by an increasing breeze, glided rapidly along a smooth sea; startling from her path flocks of lummies and dovebies, and other aquatic birds, whose flight could, from the stillness of the scene, be traced by the ear to a considerable distance."—*Voy. vol. i. p. 335.*

The night, after the appearance of a waterspout, is thus depicted :

"The upper extremity terminated by a tabular expansion, similar in form to the large end of a trumpet, in a heavy black cloud. The part clearly visible was about 300 feet in length, and the cloud not less than 1500 feet high. There was a shower of rain almost immediately afterward, of the largest drops I ever saw. It was perfectly calm, and the ocean glassy as a mirror, which made the appearance of the rain, as it struck the surface of the water, singularly beautiful. As far as the eye could reach, the whole sea seemed a plane of glass, studded with diamonds of the first magnitude. At night, the sea exhibited a phosphoretic scene of unrivalled splendour and sublimity. The whole ocean was literally bespangled with luminous points, like sparks of fire. It seemed as if all the stars were rolling about with the undulation of the billows. By throwing any article overboard, a display of light and colours

took place, surpassing in brilliancy and beauty the finest fireworks."—Stewart's *Voyage*, p. 55-7.

The sunrise on the ocean has its peculiar beauty and exciting effect.

"There was no haze, hardly any swell on the sea; not a cloud was to be seen, and the nipping air seemed as clear and transparent as if the firmament had been a globe of rock crystal cut across. The dark blue horizon, which looked almost black against the cold silvery sky, appeared as sharp as if it had been an edge of ground metal. I know not what it is about such a sunrise at sea, which produces so wonderful a freshness of spirits, with a degree of animation as to the present, and confidence for the future, rarely to be found at other moments of the day."—Hall's *Fragm.* v. ii. p. 175-6.

If from the sea we turn to land, the impressions from that are fully as agreeable; the effects of MOUNTAIN scenery on a young mind are thus strikingly displayed to us by a susceptible traveller:

"There is something magical in the mountain air. My heart is light, my spirits cheerful; every thing is exhilarating. I am in every respect a different being to what I am in lowlands. I cannot even think: I dissolve into a delicious revery, in which every thing occurs to me without effort. Whatever passes before me gives birth in my mind to a new character, a new image, a new train of fancies. I sing, I shout, I compose aloud, but without premeditation, without any attempt to guide my imagination by my reason. How often, after journeying along the wild mule track, how often on a sunny day have I suddenly thrown myself upon the turf, revelled in my existence, and then, as hastily, jumped up and raised the wild birds with a wilder scream. In roving about Switzerland, every object that crossed me in some way associated itself with my moral emotions. Not a mountain, or lake, or river, not a tree, or flower, or bird, which did not blend with some thought, or fancy, or passion, and become the lively personification of conceptions that lay sleeping in abstraction."—B. D'Israeli's *Contarini Fleming*, v. ii. p. 203-6.

A very different character of mind has thus depicted his Italian prospects to us, combining mountain and valley scenery:

"It was on the morning of our leaving Turin I had a better view of the magnificent scenery with which it is surrounded. Starting at six, we soon arrived at the bridge of the Po, and I

looked of course for the mountains. Far in the horizon, opposed to the coming sun, I perceived a faint red, which served to mark their outline. While the rest of the world was still buried in night, they had caught the beams of the day. By-and-by their colour warmed into a rich roseate hue, which contrasted beautifully with the violet tint of the mist that lay in darkness at their feet. As morning advanced, a red-hot glow succeeded; and the vast amphitheatre of Piedmont was, in its whole western section, lighted up with an ineffable and overwhelming radiance. In the eastern horizon, the golden hues of an Italian sky formed a magnificent back-ground, against which were relieved the towers of the Superga, and the picturesque outline of the neighbouring hills. Soon their aspect was again changed, the mist had fallen like a curtain at their feet, and the precarious tints of dawn had ripened into a twilight gray. The mountains themselves, in their whole vast extent, now seemed a wall of fire—iron in the furnace could not have glowed with an intenser red, than did those stupendous masses in the rays of morning; never did I witness a scene of such overwhelming magnificence—a wall of fire as extensive as half the circumference; its battlements, pyramids, and towers shooting upwards into heaven, while the bases of the mountains were clothed in vapour, and the valley was pervaded with the gray mist of twilight. Against this brilliant back-ground, the distant town, the majestic river, and the rich eastern sky, composed a landscape which brought the tears into my eyes, and closed my lips in silent delight.”—Griffin's Remains, New-York, 1831.

The same gentleman, as he approached the romantic scenes of his infancy at Wyoming, in North America, thus gives language to his emotions from them:

“O nature! sweetest nurse of the sense, the mind, and the body! how beautiful dost thou appear! thy wide-spreading fields, thy shelving declivities and hills, thy awful mountains and precipices, fill the mind either with gratitude or with awe.”

Afterward, on a visit to the falls of the Passaic, after describing a scene of great beauty, he exclaims in his young feelings—

“How divine are our sensations! We look up with gratitude to the Creator of all things, and not only know but feel that he is a FATHER.”

Returning with the setting sun, he writes—

“We saw the sun setting in his beauty; the fields of grain look more lovely under his influence, and the river reflects his golden beams in its clear lucid channel; the village spire shines

like gold ; the tinkling of the cow-bell is heard, as the village boy drives her from the cot ; the milkmaid with her pail ; the old people sitting at the door enjoying the cool air, and the children sporting on the green ; while the farmer is returning with his plough, happier than the king in his palace."—Griffin's Remains.

All classes experience sensations of this sort. The Dutchess of Abrantes, though she had partaken of the gaudy splendour of Napoleon's imperial court, yet could thus feel in the quiet scenery of France :

"The mind must be in suffering which does not derive the highest pleasure from the voyage by water from Bourdeaux to Toulouse. I have since seen the shores of the Arno, those of the Po, the Tagus, and the Brenta. I have seen the Arno in its thundering cascade and its placid waters : all these traverse fertile plains, and exhibit ravishing points of view ; but none of them recall the magical illusion of the voyage from Bourdeaux to Toulouse. Marmande, Agen, Langon, La Reole—these towns are there associated with natural scenery, that is prodigal of beauty, and illuminated by a resplendent sun and a pure atmosphere. I can conceive nothing more beautiful than those enchanted banks from Reole to Agen ; groups of trees, Gothic towers, old castles, venerable steeples."—Dutchess Abrantes' Memoirs, i. p. 166.

All the forms and states of nature excite feelings of a gratifying description. Thus even the privations and hardships of a forest-life are found to have their charms :

"I fell in with Moore's Life of Lord Edward Fitzgerald, and I cannot describe the pleasure I received from reading his vivid, spirited, and accurate description of the feelings he experienced, on first taking on him the life of a hunter. At an earlier period of life than Lord Edward had then attained, I made my *début* in the forest, and first assumed the blanket coat and the rifle, the moccasin and the snow-shoe ; and the ecstatic feeling of Arab-like independence, and the utter contempt for the advantages and restrictions of civilization which he describes, I then felt in their fullest power. And even now, when a tropical climate, privation, disease, and thankless toil, are combining with advancing years to unstring a frame, the strength of which once set hunger, cold, and fatigue at defiance, and to undermine a constitution that once appeared iron-bound, still I cannot lie down by a fire in the woods, without the elevating feeling which I experienced formerly returning, though in a diminished degree. And this must be human nature ; for it is an undoubted

fact, that no man who associates with and follows the pursuits of the Indian for any length of time, ever voluntarily returns to civilized society."—Dunlop's *Backwoodsman*.

Another individual indicates in his description, how nature fascinates, even in our earliest age :

" My taste for the beauties of the woods and fields is as old as my recollection. I remember walking with my nurse among groves and gardens. I even yet feel the awe with which I gazed, in very early life, on the magnificence of the sky, when the evening sun had left behind it a gorgeous mass of brilliant colours, or when the deep azure of heaven gave prominence to piles of silver clouds, among which my imagination was transported to lose itself : as the sun's rays fell into our school-room, I wished to be cropping kingcups in the meadows, or lying on the grass with my hand over my eyes, looking at the skylark."—*Letters for the Press, on the Feelings, &c.* p. 113.

" I love to run over these passages of my youth. Since those days I have visited many grand and beautiful scenes of nature. I have expatiated over the charms of Windermere, and the sublimities of Borrowdale ; I have gazed up from the foot of Mont Blanc, and climbed to the summit of Etna ; I have seen the Andes frowning with tempests ; I have heard the roaring of the German Ocean, and the cataract of Niagara, and been tossed by the storms of the Atlantic ; and yet such is the universal power of nature, that I can still enjoy the scenes which charmed my infant eye, without perceiving that they lose any thing of their effect, by a contrast with the grandest of her works. There is a beauty in every variety of them ; there is always something to admire, be the scene or season what it may."—*ib.* 18, 19.

All the regions of the world appear to be equally attractive. We will contrast two ; one from Europe, and the other from Africa.

" The valleys of Piedmont smile with verdure and foliage. They are so beautifully diversified by green meadows and red corn-fields, and thick foliage of forest and forest trees, that the eye is perpetually relieved and delighted. Add to these, the herds of cattle in the pasturages, and the innumerable flocks of goats and sheep browsing upon the mountain sides, and skipping from rock to rock, and you have an animated picture of enjoyment which cannot be surpassed. The Piedmontese valleys form a garden, with deserts as it were in view."—*Gilly's Life of Neff*, p. 111.

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In West Africa, Mr. Forbes encamped on the river Temby.

"The scene at midnight was solemn and sublime. The sky was clear, and brilliantly starlit. Not a sound was heard but the crackling of an immense fire, the snorting of the hippopotamus, and an occasional splash as they rushed in and out of the water while pursuing their rough pastime; the screaming of some birds, a species of ibis, mingled with the deep-toned cry of 'all's well,' from the sentinels pacing round the tents, gave birth to feelings that it would be difficult to define. For there is something awful in the stillness of nature that thrills within us, but cannot speak."—Capt. Owen's Narrative.

Mr. Paulding, an American man of literature, of much talent, thus describes the prairies of his native country :

"One of the most novel, as well as enchanting scenes of nature, is the prairie or delta, extending to a distance of many miles between the two great rivers. It is for a considerable portion of the year one sea of flowers—one wide region of fragrance. Its features differ from those of any other lands in any other country. Not a tree is to be seen except upon its outer edge. The blue horizon meets it everywhere, forming a long straight line, without the least appearance of irregularity or undulation; as you cast your eye over it, it is all one scene of deceptions. Sometimes, owing to a particular state of the atmosphere, or the position of the sun, distance or objects are increased or diminished, like the vagaries of the phantasmagoria. Things that are near will appear as at a great distance, and those at a distance at other times, seem as if you could touch them; now a bird will seem as if touching the sky with its head; and anon, the herds appear like an assemblage of insects."

If we turn to the classic regions of Greece, we find the Archipelago and the Bosphorus thus represented to us :

"The beauty of the Archipelagian Islands is outwardly. The assemblage of so many isles, of different shapes and heights, studding the sea, produces an enchanting effect. The charm of sailing among them with a fresh gale at night, when sky and water mingle in a dubious purple haze, giving undulating softness to the mountain outlines, and adding to the grace of inland sea variety the effect of ocean expanse; of now staggering to the blast which sweeps through the passages, and now slipping quietly along beneath some glittering white kastro, each headland, each inlet creative of glowing association, the charm is indescribable. It is necessary to be felt to be understood. We saw them nearly all stretched at our feet as in a map.

"The Bosphorus.—We commenced rapidly ascending between shores of unrivalled loveliness, where art and nature, taste and chance, have for once combined to finish pictures worthy of paradise. The deep blue stream flew between them, reflecting Grecian castle and Turkish kiosk, cypress grove and flower-garden; gladdened by the constant flight of birds, the splashing of oars, the glitter of fish. Naples fades in the comparison; and Rio de Janeiro, the first view of which repays the tedium of an Atlantic voyage, only surpasses it in the splendour of the sea approach. There the rivalry ends. Each time we row up the Bosphorus, new beauties, before undiscovered, elicit fresh admiration."—Slade's Travels, 57, 115.

The lakes of nature present to the eye beauties of their own, which vary in every country. Many of us, from experience, know the charms of those at Keswick, Windermere, and Ulswater. Those in Scotland add the impressions of grandeur, from their larger size and loftier accompaniments; while Ireland, in the expanding waters of her Kilkenny district, delights as much, by their rich scenery, the admiring eye. But I will select only one description of a foreign one, as less familiar, since a visit to Switzerland is less in our individual power.

"It were needless to dwell on the scenery of the Lucerne Lake. Its superb gulfs, its bays of gentler beauty, magnificent outlines, and soft details, cannot be brought by words to the mind's eye. What can words do for a scene, that looks like a fragment of a world made for something more exalted than man? But, above all, the sunset—the gloom of the mountain back-ground, on which the purple twilight was already gathering—the radiance of the nearer scene—rocks catching the red light, which, as it fell upon those kindling masses, seemed to force them out from their clinging drapery of pines—the lake glittering like liquid fire, and the sky like a temple in which angels might hold their jubilees. As darkness came on, the promontories seemed to detach themselves from the mainland, and to advance into the lake, where they stood darkly and firmly, taking the form of islands, as the back scenes gradually receded from them, and were lost in the shroud of night.—But no words can arrest the shifting aspects, or present a living likeness of the exquisite combinations of nature.—Oh! what a gift is life, when we are wise and grateful enough not to abuse it!"—Reminiscences of the Rhine, Switzerland, and Italy.

The CATARACTS of nature, with their moving masses and rushing sound, and formidable scenery, are everywhere in

teresting. You have read with admiration the description of that of Niagara, but the minor and nearer ones on the continent are not less interesting. The HANDECK is an instance that may be cited.

"At every step as we advanced towards the Handeck, the scene blackened, and the track, always alarmingly bad, became almost awfully so; at length the roaring of the cataract made itself heard above the surrounding torrents; we alighted from our horses, and a few minutes' walk brought us within view of this sublime exuberance of nature. But the front view is not the finest; it is from the upper ledge where the eye takes in at once both the headlong AAR leaping exultingly from its rocky bondage, and burying itself in the vanishing depths below, and the mountain torrent that comes down laughing and sparkling, and throwing about its shower of pulverized diamonds, that the scene is developed in all its lovely glory. The stern defile, the awful depth of perpendicular rock, the scathed pine and the eternal glacier become it well; no pastoral valley could combine so feelingly with the lonely Handeck as the stony desert, in which nothing but itself has life, or the chaos of rocks that crowd about it, like the unshapen elements of a just awakened world."—Reminiscences of the Rhine, Switzerland, and Italy.

The natural scenery in WEST AFRICA, along the Niger, is thus described to us by the unpretending Lander, and contrasted very sensibly by him with his English home, each having its particular charms.

"Both banks presented a delightful appearance; they were embellished with mighty trees and elegant shrubs, in thick and luxuriant foliage; some of lively green, others of darker hues, and little birds were singing merrily among their branches. Magnificent festoons of creeping plants, always green, hung from the tops of the tallest trees, and, drooping to the water's edge, formed immense natural grottoes, pleasing to the eye."

"Yet there is always something wanting in an African scene to render it comparable in interest and beauty to an English landscape. It is seldom that the morn is ushered in by the song of earliest birds, so eminently enchanting at home, and which induces so much happiness and cheerfulness, benevolence and joy. Here are no verdant fields nor hedges adorned with the jessamine, the daisy, the primrose, the blue bottle, the violet, and a hundred other pretty wild flowers, which please the sight, and exhale in spring and summer the most grateful fragrance. No flowers are here, not a solitary one is anywhere to be seen; besides, generally, a loneliness, a solemnity, a death-like silence pervade the noblest and most magnificent prospects,

while each has a tendency to fill the mind with sadness and melancholy reflections, very opposite to that silent cheerfulness, and that internal springing joy which we feel on contemplating the more charming landscapes that are the beauty and ornaments of England."—*Lander's Travels*, v. ii. p. 264.

The effects of nature on the mind are very rationally stated by a naval officer on his visit to Sr. DOMINGO.

"I was one of the watering party up the river Du Massacre. The course of the stream is very serpentine, and the banks are thickly covered with mangroves. The recesses formed by the indentation of the banks are the haunts of innumerable flocks of white curlews, the beautiful red-winged and crested ardeas, and the major fulica, which, rising by thousands as the boats advanced, disturbed with their cries the otherwise profound tranquillity of this unfrequented stream. The scenery, although without any striking feature, and, above all, the serenity of this secluded river, could not fail to be interesting to us, who plough the sea instead of the land, and are so long absent from such scenes. I may say, on my own part, that on such occasions I have always found a calm and pleasurable feeling stealing over the mind, perfectly in unison with the stillness and the romantic scenery then surrounding me."

"A visit of this sort, bringing as it does so opposite a contrast, and so immediate a transition, from the turbulent and noisy ocean to the calm and placid bosom of a silent stream, never fails of affording delight to the sailor. The charms of nature, which are nowhere seen to greater advantage than in this climate, although unstudied by him, perhaps, with the eye of a philosopher, have their wonted effect over his rough and original mind. In such situations I do not recollect to have seen a clouded brow, or a countenance which did not display that cheerful expression, which told that the heart was free at that moment from the pressure of its cares. As to myself individually, I cannot sufficiently explain the happy emotions which irresistibly seized upon me, when under the influence of such fascinating scenery as the islands of the Caribbean Archipelago, in all their parts, present to the inquiring eyes of a stranger. I was young at such times. Years have since rolled on, and I am no longer young, but in imagination. The mind, too, is sobered down to a more regular, or perhaps less irregular scale of feeling; yet, upon similar occasions now, the delight, although not so rapturous, is still instantaneous and powerful."—*Unit. Serv. Journ.* Feb. 1832.

It is the universal beauty of nature that excites that perpetual love of it, which Col. Claverling mentions with a just appreciation of its impressions.

"One of the purest charms of life is the view of natural scenery ; the change of the seasons ; the contrast of morn and noon, evening and night. The love of nature, as we grow older, still augments ; perhaps it is a little more chastened, but it is not less warm. It never tires, and it never fades. The magnificence and beauty of natural scenery have none of the imperfections of animate nature. There is something in the chords of our bosoms which responds to it, like the harp to the wind. For years together I have never failed to watch the first dawn of day."—Metrop. Mag. 1822, p. 40.

All regions are found to be thus pleasing. SYRIA has been experienced to be so.

"I travelled in Syria just after the short but violent rainy season had ceased. It is not easy to describe a more beautiful and fruitful land. The plains were covered with that fresh green tint, so rare in an eastern sky. The orange and lemon-trees were clothed with fruit and blossom. I galloped over an illimitable plain, fragrant with aromatic herbs. A soft fresh breeze brought vigour to my frame. Day after day I journey, and meet no sign of human existence ; at an immense distance the sky and the earth mingled in a uniform horizon. Sometimes the land would swell into long undulations ; and sometimes from a dingle of wild bushes, a gazelle would rush forward, stare, and bound away. It was the burst of spring. Nothing could be more delightful. The heat was ever intense. The breeze was ever fresh and sweet. The nocturnal heavens, luminous and clear to a degree which it is impossible to describe."—B. D'Israeli Contar. Fleming, iv. p. 154.

The Sky is everywhere as beautiful as the earth. It is thus described to us as it appears in CANADA.

"Dec. 25th.—The lake was a solid ice. The noise made by the air when the ice first fixes is, in the night, awful ; it is heard at a distance of five or six miles from the shore ; a deep rending and crackling runs along the ice.

"The sun sets brilliantly, while a tender red or violet hue over the eastern sky would portend a keen frost. When the moon arose, her pale brilliance shining on the white plains cannot be described ; and among the stars to the north, the *aurora borealis* played almost incessantly.

"The moon and stars of America shine with a lustre far surpassing the same luminaries here. The clearness of the air seems to permit more of their lustre to fall on the earth ; for, unlike the bright unsteady glare of a tropical night, they emit in Canada, not merely a brighter, but a steadier light. Sometimes returning from a neighbour's late at night over the frozen

lake, how bright and beautiful have the heavenly host appeared! undimmed by the damps of Europe, they seemed new worlds. Though the degree of cold to the thermometer be much lower than any experienced in this country, yet, from the dryness of the air, and the constant accompaniment of sunshine, it is not so unpleasantly manifested to the feelings as a much higher degree in England. There are few days in a Canadian winter, near Lake Simcoe, that a man may not labour out the whole day."—Narrative of a Settler in Canada.

Mrs. Trollope notices the effect of the moon in North America, on the Mississippi.

"The weather was dry and agreeable, and the aspect of the heavens by night surprisingly beautiful. I never saw moonlight so clear, so pure, so powerful."—Vol. i. p. 42.

In the man of right feeling and observing mind, the elements of nature, which are at times inconvenient to us, yet excite interesting recollections and emotions. Mr. James makes one of the characters in his interesting compositions give this reply to a person who was uttering imprecations on the rain for its temporary annoyance :

"Call it not accursed, my son ; O no ! remember that every drop that falls bears into the bosom of the earth a quality of beautiful fertility. Remember that each glorious tree, and herb, and shrub, and flower, owes to these drops its life, its freshness, and its beauty. Remember that half the loveliness of the green world is all their gift, and that without them we should wander through a dull desert, as dusty as the grave. Take but a single drop of rain, cloistered in the green fold of a blade of grass, and expose it to the morning sun, and what lapidary can cut a diamond which shall shine like that ! O no ! blessed for ever be the beautiful drops of the sky ; the refreshing soothers of the seared earth, the nourishers of the flowers ; that calm race of beings, which are all loveliness and tranquillity, without passion, or pain, or desire, or disappointment, whose life is beauty, and whose breath is perfume !" —Henry Masterton.

Quotations like these, of the gratifying ideas and sensations which nature, in its various scenes, has excited in the bosoms of travellers in every region of the globe, might be multiplied to a great extent. But I will not add any more ; the above passages, taken promiscuously as they occurred to my notice, from several different classes of minds and characters, are quite sufficient to support the reasonings with which this letter began. Nature is interesting and delightful in all its

forms, and has manifestly been specially framed and arranged by its Maker to be so to us, and purposely to give us the pleasure which it produces ; an effect quite distinct from our necessary maintenance and life's usual comforts. It is always an addition to these, and means to be, and becomes thereby a universal assurance to us of the benevolent love of our munificent Creator to every individual of his human race ; for every bosom is susceptible of the gratification, and it is generally presented unexceptingly to all.

LETTER XXIV.

Divisions of Mankind into the Permanent Diversities of Civilized and Uncivilized Nations—Outlines of the Descent of the Chief Tribes and Nations of the World, from the Three Sons of Noah.

MY DEAR SYDNEY,

THE dispersion of the renewed race of mankind, to which we have already alluded, has been followed by the consequence which must have been intended to result from it ; the rise and spread of numerous populations on the globe, very dissimilar to each other in mind, manners, actions, and improvements.

From the time they first separated from each other at Babel, it has been a distinguished character of the human kind, as an order of beings, that they should exist on this earth, during their life upon it, in a state of very multifarious diversity, both mentally and morally. In every quarter of the world, the disparted race has grown up into distinct tribes and nations, of which each has such peculiarities, as to make its individual and collective state a contrast to all others. From the universality and perpetuation of this result, we must infer that it was meant to take place. It was not produced for any temporary purpose ; but it has been steadily maintained, and made the continuing course and abiding character of human society, as if it had been designed to be its permanent condition. Hence no one universal, absorbing, and assimilating empire has been suffered to arise ; and all advances to the formation of such a one

have been resisted and soon nullified. Man has not been made to be a one uniform being, like the lion or the antelope. But the system of Providence has been, that he should be a very diversified being, varying in every new generation, and varying in each one individually as it subsists.

In ancient time he appeared in those distinct nations which we read of; and although these have passed away, the diversifying and separating principle has not closed its agency. On the contrary, it has been increasing in vigour and effect; for at no former period of the world have there been so many varied forms of human nature on the earth together as are now presented to us in its different regions. We are therefore entitled to say, that the Deity has chosen and preferred that his human race should diverge into this multiform diversity, and at present remain in it. It has fulfilled his purposes better than any other form of society would have done; though it is always possible that, as time rolls on, his plan may require that these discrepancies should be diminished, and that a more general union and assimilation should begin to take place. Such an event will not occur, until it is best and happiest for mankind that all should thus blend into greater resemblances; but as both moral and intellectual perfection might be promoted by it, and indeed lead to its production, it may be the ulterior state of our completed progression.

The division and dispersion of mankind gradually occasioned, at an era so early as to be anterior to all the remains and memorials of profane history, two very contrasted states of the human population, by which it has ever since been distinguished. These we habitually term, with sufficient distinctness of meaning, though containing many subordinate and changing varieties, the *CIVILIZED* and the *UNCIVILIZED* portions of mankind. We mark at once, as very different characters, the wandering and the settled; the savage Indian of the north, and the cultivated American; the wild Tartar of Asia, and the intelligent European. As we ascend into antiquity, the same distinctions appear. The rude Scythian was not the Egyptian with the gigantic temples and pyramids of his elaborate arts, nor the intellectualized Athenian. The Roman empire, in all its vast extent, presented the former civilization of the world collected within its dominion, as a circle of human existence very dissimilar to all those numer-

ous tribes who roved and fought beyond its boundaries, with many diversities of manners and character, but to all of whom the epithets of the wild, the fierce, the rude, and the barbarian, were more or less applicable.

Thus in all ages, one part of mankind has diverged into, and lived in the uncivilized form of human life; while the other part has preferred that condition and those habits, with all their appendages and results, to which the name of civilization, under all its varieties, has been uniformly attached.

These contrasted states are not very satisfactory to our imperfect judgment: the rude and savage offend it: the purposes and benefit of their existence are very little studied by us, and we depreciate whatever is unlike ourselves. Hence our national antipathies and hostile jealousies, and our contempt for all that we deem to be inferior. But the divine philanthropy is not that small and feeble sentiment which glimmers and vacillates in our bosom, and too often is absent from it. It has been solemnly declared to us, that "God is no respecter of persons, but that, in every nation, whosoever feareth him, and worketh righteousness, is accepted with him."* This sublime truth, which we are perpetually forgetting, is one of the leading articles in the divine charter granted to our race, and presents the whole world, uncivilized as well as civilized, as forming one common family, partaking alike his regard and favours. But his appreciations are perpetually differing from ours. We survey the external figure and station: he perceives the interior man.† His plans extend, like his omniscience, beyond the limits of our knowledge and capacity; and we slowly advance in the art and power of deciphering them. Yet the more we succeed in discerning them, we always find wisdom and goodness both in their conception and execution.

* Acts, x. 34, 5. "There is no respect of persons with God."—Rom. ii. 6. "The Lord your God regardeth not persons, nor taketh reward."—Deut. x. 17.

† This was the solemn declaration to Samuel: "The Lord seeth not as man seeth; for man looketh on the outward appearance, but the Lord looketh on the heart."—1 Sam. xvi. 7. This was the principle of the prophetic description of the Messiah: "He shall not judge after the sight of his eyes, neither reprove after the hearing of his ears: but with righteousness shall He judge the poor, and reprove with equity for the meek of the earth."—Isaiah, xi. 3, 4.

We may believe that it is so in the instance before us. He deduces grand effects and utilities from the diversities which we may lament, and therefore permits and perpetuates them as long as he thinks fit. Nor need the human spirit be without its moral value in either the rude or the polished state; both may possess, and many of the individuals of each have in all ages exhibited, the four cardinal virtues of the ancient moralists,—Prudence, Fortitude, Justice, and Temperance. The higher standard presented to us by the prophet Micah,—Justice, Benevolence, and Piety,—was as practicable by either;* for often has even Mercy appeared among the wildest people. Both, then, are but different compartments of his divine system of human society.

The co-existence of these two contrary modes of their earthly existence, indicates that neither of them is unnatural or repugnant to the human race. They have been also found, at various periods, to be convertible into each other; portions of individuals of the civilized have deviated into the wild, and the savage has been repeatedly softened into a welcomed civilization: thus human nature is adapted for the one as much as for the other, and the differences seem to come more from individual inclination and transmitted habit, than from any essential principles in the human constitution. As far as these operate, they have been equally active in both conditions. The mind is as energetic in the savage as in the most cultivated; it is occupied with different subjects of thought and exercise, but is as acute and vigorous in its chosen course of action in the mountain and in the forest, as it is in the superior pursuits of the well-thronged, orderly, and industrious metropolis.

It is not therefore in original principles of our common nature, that they differ so much from each other; it is in both, one and the same mind, one and the same species of human soul, as it is the same form, limbs, and functions of the body, which yet display themselves in such striking contrast of qualities and operations; but we see an equal contrariety to this, even in single individuals in civilized life. The same courteous and cultivated person whose manners and accomplishments delight society, will yet, under the

* "He hath showed thee, O man, what is good; and what doth the Lord require of thee, but to do justly, and to love mercy, and to walk humbly with thy God?"—Micah, vi.

instigations of his passions, resemble, in some of his actions, the ruthless and immoralized savage. The populace of polished cities have repeatedly done so. The human spirit can therefore take, with equal ease, the wildest and the most civilized form, and appears in either, according to its habits and education, and not according to any original diversities in its essential nature.

The truth seems to be, that the mind of man can take any form of good or evil which it chooses, or is led to acquire, or shall addict itself to ; and it is the astonishing multiplicity of the differences into which it may diverge, which, while it shows the large extent of our possible versatilities, and the difficulty of attracting or forming them into virtuous similitudes, at the same time encourages our most pleasing hopes, by displaying likewise the unbounded improvability of our thinking and acting principle. For if it be thus susceptible to varied impressions and impulses from external things and circumstances of every sort, it may always alter from the worse to the better ; and as the causes of the latter increase, and they are increasing every year, it cannot fail to do so. Hence it is that mankind have been always advancing in civilization ; and on this basis we may rest our conclusion that all our uncivilized kinsfolk who are yet keeping aloof from the surest means of their human happiness, will, by degrees, come into the socialized communities which they now avoid or harass ; and that the earth will in time know no longer any depreciating distinction of rude anomalies.

But although human nature is equally susceptible of either of these states, yet both are artificial or acquired conditions of it. The spirit within us is not at first either civilized or uncivilized ; but becomes what it grows up to be, according to the impressions and impulses which it receives, and according to its own intellectual operations and deciding will, and chosen exercises of itself, amid the circumstances which occur to it. It is not made servilely by them, but it forms itself amid their agencies and under their influences, always acting spontaneously, though at times very greatly affected by what impresses or excites it.

It was most natural, under the present system of human life, that mankind should be civilized beings. As the three sons of Noah were born in the last age of the antediluvian

population, and Shem, the second in birth, was ninety-eight years old at the time of the flood,* we may conclude that all the antediluvian civilization was possessed and represented by this family.

The first generations of their posterity would be of a character analogous to themselves; and therefore the renewed population of the world would, in its commencement, be of that description of civilization to which the antediluvians had attained. The parental scheme of life always tends to favour the continuation of a character of this kind, from the domestic habits, the obedience, and coercion, and submission of the children which it exacts; until the father has, from other causes, deviated into a rude mode of life. Hence we may consider the uncivilized state as a voluntary and wilful divergence from the primitive more settled form—the moving offsets of the ancestral stock—that change which migration into forest countries often, even in our days, produces; but we may also view it as a condition, which accomplished important ends of the divine Providence, and was therefore allowed or assisted to take place.

The most distinguishing features of the civilized condition of mankind, appear to be these:—

First, as the foundation of it, a settled and permanent localization, combined with a cultivation of the ground on which the population fixed itself. This was an essential requisite. A migratory tribe never civilizes.

A cessation of all warfare with each other, and a consenting will to live in peaceful neighbourhood together, were necessary to give a stability to their social union. But the great principles of their cohesion would be their individual determination to obtain their food by their own labour, and not by hunting or depredation, and to seek it principally by raising it from the earth. Thus agriculture has been the companion of all civilizing populations, and a main cause of their continuity and improvements.

An indispensable addition to this would be, a concurring determination to establish and to submit to a government of some form or other, and to appropriate laws, for their mutual benefit. Judicial tribunals would be as essential; or until these were appointed and put into efficient opera-

* Gen. xi. 10.

tion, the right and the assertion of private revenge and self-righting by personal force and exertion, would not be abandoned. Until mankind can get redress for wrongs, and enforce their just claims on each other, and decide their disputes and quarrels by some legal forms and channels, they will seek to remedy their assumed grievances by their own power and violences ; and with such conduct, all social peace and civilization would be impossible.

The desire of property must also arise, and a mutual allowance of its being acquired and possessed. No civilization can exist without this. The savage is at war with property, in all its forms and accumulations. He has none himself beyond what he can carry about with him ; he allows none among his associates ; he takes it from others wherever he can find it. It is therefore an inseparable part of civilized life, that every one should be at liberty to make, by fair and peaceful means, whatever property he can, and should have the sole right of possessing and of disposing of it, and be secured in the exclusive enjoyment of it against all others. The whole force of the collected society is at all times directed to the maintenance of this right. It is made everywhere irrevocable by law ; and all attacks of others upon it are denounced as a crime that is always met by punishment. It is subjected only to the laws by which it is upheld. The ruling power has the right of making such claims upon it, and in such modes, for the general welfare, as the customs of each country, by the habitual consent of its inhabitants, have established and sanction : all other abstraction of it is everywhere sternly prohibited.

These features, with a general love of quiet and orderly life and manners, and the employment of the daily life in such occupations as are compatible with these, are those which everywhere characterize civilization. The rise and practice of the useful arts and manufactures also accompany it ; and in due time intellectual cultivation and literary composition, with an ever-multiplying population, and a diffusion and augmentation as ample of personal comfort and happiness.

Both branches of the human population must have been descendants of the sons of Noah. Of these, the earliest civilized nations of antiquity, those which inhabited Asia and Africa, seem to have issued from the line of Ham ; the states

and peoples most immediately connected with an avowed sacred history, were derived from Shem; while the elder stem of Japheth furnished that posterity which has taken the lead of the human race since Christianity has been diffused, and has become in modern times distinguished for a progression of civilization and improvement which has surpassed all that has existed in the ancient eras of human history. These facts will appear, if we study that important chapter in the most ancient book that is now existing, and, for what we know, that was ever written—I mean the *Genesis* of Moses.* As the composition of this legislator, it must be six hundred years older than the poems of Homer and Hesiod, which precede, by two or three centuries, every other literary production that has come down to us, except those from Judea. I do not mean to enter into geographical controversies, but to select a few leading facts which seem to me to be most entitled to your attention.†

The four sons of Ham were Cush, Mizraim, Phut, and Canaan.‡ These may be considered to represent to us, ac-

* Gen. x.

† Geography has been as progressive, and as slow in its progression, as every other science. At present, accurate geographers are placing before us full and correct geographies of the earth, because judicious and observing travellers have journeyed over most of its countries, and carefully described them; but as this was not done, and, for want of such men, could not be done in ancient times, we cannot now obtain exact knowledge of the sites and identities of ancient cities and nations, nor of the migrations and settlement of their early tribes. Hence almost every writer takes his own views, and differs from every other. It was so among the Grecians and Romans. Strabo says, "It was customary with Hipparchus, who did not professedly write on geography, but who scrutinized what Eratosthenes had expressed in his geographical works, to blame him on almost every point." Strabo adds his opinion, that Eratosthenes was oftener wrong than right, but admits that Hipparchus frequently criticised "from a love of finding fault."

Yet Strabo took the same position as to his geographical predecessors, for he subjoins, "And now let us say, that Timosthenes and Eratosthenes, and those who preceded them, were completely ignorant of Iberia and Celtic things; and still more largely so of those of Germany and Britain, and likewise of the Gothic and barbaric regions. They were full of ignorance on the subjects of Italy and Adria, and the Pontus, and of what was northward of these."—Strabo, vol. ii. p. 149. He therefore does not spare his perpetual censures. These facts show us, that as the same causes of error remain to us undiminished, that is, the want of correct ancient information on these subjects, we cannot attain now the certainty upon them which we desire. Hence I prefer to select what I deem most authentic, but not to condemn or dispute with any one for holding different opinions.

‡ Gen. x. 6.

cording to the Hebrew geography, the regions and ancestors of Ethiopia, Egypt, Libya, and Canaan.

CUSH represents to us the region and people of ETHIOPIA, that part of the east districts of Africa which spread from Meroe in Upper Egypt, along the Red Sea towards the Indian Ocean.* Both the natives and the ancient Jews denominated this country Cush.† They came from the Indus into this territory on the frontiers of Egypt,‡ and became distinguished among mankind for their equity, sagacity, and general probity.§ They were frequently at war with the Egyptians, alternately subjected and conquering.|| Sesostris first subdued them, and spread his dominion over the country up to the cinnamon-bearing regions, and caused temples, monuments, and columns, with inscriptions, to be erected there,¶ which may account for some of those which are now

* Some divided its length into two parts; one a twelve days' navigation from Meroe to Sirbitum; another of the same period from that place ad Davellos. It was 625 miles from Meroe to the ocean.—Pliny, lib. vi. c. 35.

† Josephus mentions, "Time has not at all hurt the name of Chus; for the Ethiopians whom he begat are even at this day called Chousaioi, both by themselves and by all in Asia."—Antiq. l. i. c. 6. If Ethiopia was in his time denominated Chus by its neighbours and inhabitants, this is an authority quite sufficient for our believing that Chus was meant by Moses to designate this region and people. Isaiah calls Tirka-hah the King of Ethiopia, the Melek Cush, the King of Cush, xxxvii. 9. He is so named also in 2 Kings, xix. 9. So the old Syriac translation of the New Testament translates the Aithiopoï, in Acts, vii. 27, by Cuschaeos. The Arab version, by Habessinios, making Cush more definitely Abyssinia.

‡ Syncellus, p. 151. Euseb. p. 402. "Formerly the Ethiopians occupied these regions, an Indian nation. There was till then no Ethiopia; Egypt ended above Meroe and the Katadupi."—Philostr. l. iii. c. 6. Herodotus remarks their resemblance to the Indians, and distinguishes them into two kinds; "those from Asia," and others.—L. vii. c. 70. And Strabo mentions, that "those who are in Asia, and those who are in Africa, do not differ from each other."—L. iv. p. 162.

§ Homer makes Thetis call them "the blameless Ethiopians," whom Jupiter and all the gods went to visit.—Il. i. v. 423. In other parts they are termed the most just of men. Philostratus has, "The Indians are the wisest of men. The Aithiopes are a colony of Indians, and retain all their ancestral wisdom."—C. viii. p. 287. Lucian contends that the Egyptians received from them the principles of their knowledge.—De Astrol. v. iii. p. 254.

|| Pliny, l. vi. c. 35.

¶ Herod. l. ii. c. 110. Diod. l. i. p. 50. Pliny, l. vi. c. 29. Strabo mentions from Artemidorus, that Sesostris built a temple to Isis in Ethiopia.—L. xvi. p. 1115. And that some of his monuments, columns, and inscriptions were, in Strabo's time, remaining there.—L. xvii. p. 1138.

found in Nubia, of a more ancient appearance than others in Egypt. But the Ethiopian kings, in their turn, penetrated into Egypt, and at several periods governed in it.* One Ethiopian dynasty subdued and swayed it, under three kings, for forty years.† The last of these was Tirkahah, whom Isaiah exhibits as advancing against the King of Assyria, when he was besieging Libnah.‡ They were in power and celebrity at the era of the Trojan war.§ Their island, Meroë, on the Egyptian border, was of much note in the day of their prosperity,|| and from one of its queens, several of her successors to the Ethiopian royalty bore the name of Candace.¶ Besides its vernacular term, Cush, it had received several other appellations.** Under the Macedonian dynasty, voyages to it from Spain, for commercial purposes, circumnavigating Africa, and anticipating the exploit of Vasco de Gama, are mentioned.††

From Cush came children, of whom the settlements of

* Out of 330 kings which the Egyptian priests enumerated to Herodotus, they allowed that 38 had been Ethiopians.—Her. i. ii. c. 100.

† Manetho places this as his twenty-fifth dynasty.—Corys. Anc. Fr. p. 126. Sabacon began it, Herod. c. 137, who burnt alive the King Bocchoris whom he conquered.—Syne, p. 74.

‡ "He is come forth to make war with thee."—Isaiah, xxxvii. 9. This instance corresponds with the intimation in Pliny's passage, "That the Ethiopians spread their power into Syria and our sea (the Mediterranean) in the time of King Cepheus, appears from the story of Andromeda."—L. vi. c. 35.

§ "Clara et potens etiam usque ad Trojana bella, Memnone regnante."—Pliny, l. vi. c. 35. Pliny says, that "in his time, forty-five Ethiopian kings were enumerated."—Ib.

|| "When the Ethiopian pride predominated, this island was of great celebrity. It had a temple of Hammon, and there were over all the district religious edifices."—Pliny, ib.

¶ "There was a Queen Candace there, whose name for many years passed to its queens."—Ib. This sentence illustrates and confirms the passage in the Acts, where Philip met in Judea "a man of Ethiopia, a eunuch of great authority under Candace, queen of the Ethiopians."—Acts, viii. 27.

** "All the nation was called Etheria, then Atlantia, and afterward Ethiopia, from Æthiop, a son of Vulcan."—Pliny, l. vi. c. 35. They were called Ethiopians in Homer's time, for he makes Menelaus say, "And wandering from the Egyptians, I came to the Aithiops."—Odys. l. iv. ver. 48.

†† Herodotus states, that some Phenicians passed through the Straits of Gibraltar on this voyage, and returned in three years.—L. iv. c. 42. A Carthaginian attempted it, and failed.—C. 43. But Hanno sailed from Cadiz when Carthage was flourishing, and reached Arabia. Cornelius Nepos intimates that in his time, Eudoxus, flying from the Egyptian king Lathurus, passed down the Arabian gulf, and reached Caba.

some seem to have been in Arabia; and this may have occasioned his name to be applied to some tribes or districts in that peninsula.* The Sabæans of part of Arabia were distinguished for their traffic in odoriferous substances.†

His more celebrated son was Nimrod, the declared founder of that kingdom, which is called Babel in Hebrew, and which is the term used in the historical books of the Jewish Scriptures, for Babylon and its empire.‡

From MIZRAIM, the colonies which established themselves in Egypt descended.

The most ancient sacred writers, as well as the later ones, apply the name of this ancestor to their country;§ and in the time of Josephus, his countrymen continued to do so.|| The name of his father, Ham, was also attached to it.¶ From Mizraim also descended several other tribes, who settled chiefly in Africa.**

Pliny adds, "*Much before him, Celius Antipater had seen one who had sailed from Spain to Ethiopia, commercii gratia.*"—Pliny, l. ii. c. 67.

* "And the sons of Cush" were "Seba, and Havilah, and Sabtah, and Raamah, and Sabtechah: and the sons of Raamah, Sheba and Dedan."—Gen. x. 7.

† Pliny mentions, among the towns of the Sabæi, two, Sabatha and Sabota.—L. vi. c. 32. The three names, Sabai, Sabatha, and Sabota, have a remarkable coincidence with three of the sons of Cush, Seba, Sabtah, and Sabtechah.

‡ After mentioning that Cush had also Nimrod, it is said of this son, "he began to be a mighty one in the earth. He was a mighty hunter. And the beginning of his kingdom was Babel, and Erech, and Accad, and Calneh, in the land of Shinar."—Gen. x. 8-10. Hence this region is called by Micah, "the land of Nimrod."—V. 6. The Septuagint translates Babel into Babylon. The ancient Syriac version of the "mighty hunter" is a "giant warrior;" and the Arabic, "a terrible giant."—Walt. Polygl. p. 38. All the terms indicate formidable strength and power, either of mind or body, and most likely of both. Babel is the name of Babylon in all the Jewish prophets. Isaiah always mentions Babylon by the name Babel. So does Jeremiah, and calls Nebuchadnezzar the King of Babel.—xxv. 1. Ezekiel likewise, xxvi. 7; xxix. 17. Daniel also, i. 1. &c. So that there can be no doubt that the Hebrew writers by Babel meant Babylon.

§ Mizraim is the word by which Moses denominates Egypt.—Gen. xii. xiii. xxxvii. xxxviii. et seq., and Exodus. So the Psalmist, as Ps. lxxviii. and cv. and others. The Prophets likewise, as Isaiah, x. xi. &c.

|| "The memory of the Mesraites is preserved in their name; for all we who inhabit the country of Judea call Egypt Mestre, and the Egyptians Mestreans."—Joseph. Antiq. l. i. c. 6. p. 19.

¶ In Psalm lxxviii. it is also called "the tabernacle of Ham," v. 51; and in Psalm cv. 23, "the land of Ham;" as if Ham had peculiarly fixed himself there.

** "And Mizraim begat Ludim, and Ananim, and Lehabim, and Naph-

PHUT became the ancestor of the Libyan population, and stands in the Scripture as the denomination by which this portion of mankind is designated.*

From one of the sons of Mizraim sprang that people who, under the name of the PHILISTINES, were for some time so formidable to the Israelites, and who established themselves in the regions of Syria, between the Mediterranean and Judea.† His son Canaan is distinguished as the progenitor of the Phenicians; for Sidon is declared to have been his firstborn,‡ and was one of the most ancient and distinguished cities of the east.§ The family of Canaan spread from Sidon to Gaza, along the Mediterranean, and inland as far as the Dead Sea.|| Other nations also sprang from him,

tuhim, and Pathrusim, and Casluhim, and Caphtorim."—Gen. x. 13, 14. These plural terminations of *im* imply, that the descendant peoples, as well as the filial ancestor, are alluded to. This remark may be extended to the general meaning of the whole chapter.

* "Phut was the founder of Libya. There is a river in the country of the Moors, *Mauris*, bearing this name; whence it is, that the greatest part of the Grecian historiographers mention that river and the adjoining country by the appellation of Phoute."—Jos. Ant. l. i. c. 6. p. 19. Pliny mentions this river, "*amnem quem vocant Put*."—L. v. c. 1. Rosenmuller says, "The Phutæi are, without doubt, the Libyans who dwelt about Carthage."—V. i. p. 87. Michaelis, in his *Spicel.* i. p. 160, extends them to Morocco. Tangiers, on this coast, was built by Anteus, who fought with Hercules, to whom there was an altar there.—Pliny, l. v. c. 1. The Romans planted five colonies in this region.—Ib. When Scipio Emilianus was finally subduing Carthage here, Polybius, the valuable historian, with a fleet he furnished, made a voyage of discovery from it, to explore the west coast of Africa. Pliny does not distinctly mark how far he proceeded.

† In mentioning Casluhim as issuing from Mizraim, Moses adds, "out of whom came Philistim"—V. 14. It was this people who gave the name Palestine to part of Syria. Pliny says, "It is called Palestina where it borders on the Arabians."—L. v. c. 13. He distinguishes this from Phenicia, Judea, Damascus, and Celo-Syria.—Ib.

‡ Gen. x. 15. Eupolemus calls Canaan "the father of the Phenicians."—Euseb. Rosenmuller remarks, "The Hebrews called those Canaanites whom the Greeks and Romans name Phenicians." He adds this important fact: "The Phenicians, in their own language, called themselves Canaanites. This appears from the coins with Phenician inscriptions, which J. Swinton has copied and illustrated."—Ros. Schol. v. l. p. 88. Herodotus states, that the Phenicians came from the Red Sea to settle on the Mediterranean shore.—L. i. c. 1. This corresponds with the Egyptian and Ethiopian positions of the other branches of Ham's family.

§ Moses mentions the Sidonians, Deut. iii. 9; and Joshua also, xiii. 4-6. Homer notices the fine female dresses worked by the women of Sidon.—Il. vi. 290.

|| "And the border of the Canaanites was from Sidon, as thou comest.

among whom the Sinite, from the similarity of name, may have been those who settled in Tsin, or China.* But of course on a period so remote, and with such a brief document to reason from, I can only state what appears to me to be the most rational probability. From Canaan, in the same Ham line, issued those nations who became so depraved in their corrupted civilizations, as to be ordained to persist in their conflict with the Jewish nation, when, on their refusal to resist their entrance, they were invaded, and subdued, and destroyed by it.†

From SHEM proceeded the Abrahamic nations, whom we will notice in a separate Letter, and apparently the Assyrian state: for Asshur was his son,‡ and Asshur is said to have built Nineveh, the metropolis of the Assyrian empire, and some other of its chief cities.§

JAPHETH, or Japet,|| seems to have been the ancestor of to Gerar, unto Gaza; as thou goest unto Sodom, and Gomorrah, and Admah, and Zeboim, even unto Lasha."—Gen. x. 19.

* Gen. x. 17. The Hebrew term is 'סִינִי Hsini. "The Arabs call China by the name of Sin; whence the Latins took their term Sinae. The Persians and other easterns name it Tchin; but they make him the son of Japhet instead of Ham, and ascribe the population of China to him. See Mirkhond, in his Genealogy of Gengizchan."—Herbel. Bib. Ch. 811. "The Turks call China both Tchini and Fagfein."—Ib. The Chinese do not give themselves this designation. It was not until 248 years before the Christian era, that the kings of Tchin became masters of China; and they only held it, during three emperors, for 39 years. One of its provinces is named Chensi; and the celebrity of one of the Tchin kings, and his native district being nearest to the western nation, occasioned its appellation to be applied by them to the whole of this mighty empire.—Visdelou. Suppl. p. 1. 2.

† Numbers, xxi. 21-5. 33. Deut. xxix. 7. Among the offspring of Canaan are mentioned, "Heth, and the Jebusite, and the Amorite, and the Girgasite, and the Hivite, and the Arkite, the Arvadite, the Zemarite, and the Hamathite," as well as the Sinite.—Gen. x. 15-18. All these stationed themselves, in time, in different settlements or positions; for it is added, "And afterward were the families of the Canaanites spread abroad."—18. That these genealogies are meant to delineate the various colonizations of Ham's descendants, appears from the express language of the subsequent passage: "These are the sons of Ham, after their families, after their tongues, in their countries, and in their nations."—20.

‡ Genesis, x. 22.

§ In the verse following that which noticed the establishment of Nimrod's kingdom, it was mentioned, "Out of that land went forth Asshur, and builded Nineveh, and the city Rehoboth, and Calah, and Resen between Nineveh and Calah: the same is a great city."—Gen. x. 11, 12.

|| In Josephus we see the ideas of the most enlightened man of the Jewish nation in his time. He says, that the sons of Japhet so spread their population, "that beginning at the mountains Taurus and Amanus,

the chief populations, both of ancient and modern Europe, and higher Asia. He seems to have been the Japetus whom all the Grecian and Roman traditions, transmitted to us by their poets and mythologists, exhibit as the ancestor of the human race.* Seven sons, and as many grandsons, from two of the others, are ascribed to him by Moses.† The Turks and the Turcomans, their original stock, deduce themselves and the Tartars and Moguls from him, by another child.‡ The sons, Madai and Javan, represent the Medes and Greece, and their names have been applied by the ancient prophets to do so.§

they proceeded along Asia as far as the river Tanais, and along Europe to Cadiz; and settling themselves on the lands they came to, their names were imposed on the nations there."—*Jos. Ant.* l. i. c. 6.

* The Theogony of Hesiod represents Japetus as the son of Heaven, v. 134, and the father of Prometheus, who formed the first woman, and of Atlas, v. 507, 515, 543. Pindar, after mentioning the deluge, and that Deucalion and Pyrrha, descending from Mount Parnassus, built the first house and produced the stony race, adds, "From them came your progenitors with their brazen shields—the primitive sons of the race of Japetus."—*Olyn. O.* v. 66-82. Apollodorus represents Prometheus as having formed mankind from water and earth, c. 7. p. 21, and as the son of Japetus, the son of heaven and earth; the father also of Atlas, who sustains the skies, by Asia, the daughter of ocean, c. 2. p. 5. Hence Horace, in the well-known paraphrase, calls men "ille audax Japeti genus."—*Ode* 3.

† "The sons of JAPHETH; Gomer, and Magog, and Madai, and Javan (Jon), and Tubal, and Moshech, and Tiras. And the sons of Gomer; Ashkenaz, and Riphath, and Togarmah. And the sons of Javan, Elishah, and Tarshish, Kittim, and Dodanim," or Rodanim. —*Gen.* x. 2-4.

‡ "Their tradition is, that Turk, their great progenitor, was the son of Japhet; who is hence called, by the early Mohammedan writers, Abou'l Turk, the father of Turk, and the brother of Tchin, the ancestor of the Chinese. The fourth in descent from Turk was Almogh Khan. In his reign, the nation forgot the faith of their ancestors, which was pure Theism, and became idolaters. He had two sons, Tartar and Mongol. It is from these princes that the tribes they governed took their names."—*David's Gram. Turk. Lang.*

Herbelot, from the oriental writers, presents this view of Japhet's posterity, as their traditions transmit it: "Jafeth had eleven male children, Gin or Tchin, from whom the Chinese came; Sekiab, whence the Sclavonians; Manschuge, from whom issued the Goths, or Scythians, called Jagiougé and Magiougé; the Hebrew Gog and Magog; Gomari; Turk; Khozar, the ancestor of the Khozarians; Rous, the father of the Russians; Soussan; Ghaz and Tarage, from whom came the Turcoman."—*D'Herb. Bib.* p. 470. voc. Jafeth.

§ Daniel calls the Medes by the same term, Madai, and the Persians by Peres, v. 28; vi. 8. v. 12, &c. Isaiah also names the Medes, Madai, xlii. 17, and has Madai for O Media, xx. 2. Jeremiah likewise, li. 11, calls them Madai. Daniel applies the name Javan or Iou for Greece, as the King of Javan, meaning the King of Greece, or Alexander. The

Of the other children of Japheth, his eldest, Gomer, is considered to be the ancestor of the Kimmerians.* Magog is identified with the Scythians by Josephus,† whose country we now call Tartary, and to whom the posterity of Magog is extended.‡ Whenever his name is mentioned as a people in the Scriptures, it seems to be applied to these regions.§ Mesech and Tubal are believed to designate those who settled in Cappadocia, and in Iberia, near the Euxine.|| From Tiras the Thracians sprung.¶

The grandsons by Gomer are thus stationed, by the best investigation of these topics; Askenaz** in Phrygia Minor, and

Hebrew letters ין exactly corresponding with Ion the ancestor of the Ionians, one of the two great stems of the Grecian people; the Dorians were the other. "The kingdom of Javan or Ion," is Greece in Dan. x. 2. Josephus so understood these two terms: "From Madai came the Madæans, who are called Medes by the Greeks; and from Javan, Ionia and all the Grecians are derived."—Ant. l. i. c. 6.

* Michaelis Spicel. l. p. 19-24, and Suppl. Lex. 333-7. Rosenmuller thinks he has made this "valde verisimile."—Scholia. l. p. 78. Our Kymry, as the oldest inhabitants of Britain, may be referred to the same stock. See, on both peoples, the Hist. Angl. Sax. vol. i. Rosenmuller remarks that their name Kymr, corresponds with the Hebrew Gomr, p. 79.

† "He founded the Magogai, so called from him; the Greeks term them Scythians."—Jos. Antiq. l. i. c. 6.

‡ "Magog, Tartaria ulterior."—Rosenm. 79, and Michaelis, p. 28.

§ As in Ezekiel xxxviii. "ubo later septentriones gentes recensetur."—Rosen. 80.

|| "Mesech and Tubal are, without doubt, those peoples whom the Greek writers called Moschi and Tibareni. They are always joined together as neighbouring peoples by profane authors, as well as by the sacred. The Moschi obtained Cappadocia and the mountains from the Phasis to the Cappadocian Sea, whence those mountains were called Moschici."—Rosen.

Strabo thus mentions Moschica: "Moschike is in three parts. One the Colchians have; another the Iberi; and the third, the Armenians."—L. xi.

Josephus thus comments on Mesech: "The Moscheni, founded by him, are now called Cappadoces. They have a city still called Mazaca." On Tubal, he adds, "He was the ancestor of Thobell, who in our days are called Iberi."—Antiq. l. i. c. 6.

¶ "From Thiras were those whose name the Greeks changed into Thracians."—Jos. Ant. lb. The later Greeks had the same idea. Θρηας, εἰς τὴν Θρακίαν.—Euseb. in Chron. So, Eustathius and Epiphanius. Rosenmuller remarks that the names have the same letters, but the Greeks turned the s into the x, because in the alphabet brought into Greece by the Phenicians, the ξ occupied the place of the Hebrew samech.—Ros. Sch. 81.

** Bochart, l. iii. c. 9. There was formerly in these regions an Ascanian bay, an Ascanian lake; a city and region Ascania; Ascanian islands;

Bythinia; and Togarmah in Armenia;* Ripath is referred by Josephus to Paphlagonia, but may belong to some of the northern populations of Europe.†

Javan's sons appear to have larger relations with Europe. Elisha is identified with Hellas in Greece;‡ Tarshish with Tartessus in Spain;§ Kittim is considered to designate Italy;|| the other son's name having been written with a variation in the commencing letter, can be less certainly fixed.¶ I may conclude these derivations by adding, that to

and the Euxine itself is by some of the poets called Axinos.—Bochart. The modern Jews prefer the idea that it designates Germany, but show no ancient authority for this ascription of it.

* Michaelis urges this sentiment.—Spec. p. 76. Moses Chorenensis, in his Armenian history, favours it; and his editors, the Whistons, state that the Armenians themselves, in their traditions, consider their nation as the descendants of Togarmah.—Rosenm. 82.

† “Ripath founded the Riphatheans, called the Paphlagonians.”—L. i. c. 6. The name would lead us most naturally to connect the posterity of Ripath with the Riphean mountains; but the difficulty on this would be, that although these mountains are mentioned in Strabo, at p. 452-8, and by Dionys. v. 315, and others, yet it is not certain where they were situated. Posidonius mentions them as the Alps; others as part of Caucasus. Dionysius places them at the Borysthenes. Ptolemy, as those from which the Tanais sprang, and Pliny, as rather beyond the Scythians, and among the Arimaspi or Hyperborean (l. vi. c. 14); and in another passage he connects them with Caucasus, and brings them towards the Pontus.—L. vi. c. 5. That they were some of the mountains in those northern regions where Asia and Europe join, seems to be all that we can safely infer about them; and of the tribes in those parts, Ripath may have been the ancestor.

‡ “Elisa, sine dubio est Græcorum Hellas, ut Michaelis in Spec. p. 79, ostendit.”—Rosen. 83. It has a correspondence with this that Ezekiel speaks of “blue and purple from the isles of Elisha” to Tyre, xxvii. 7; and that Pausanias mentions that “the shores of Laconia furnish shells most adapted, after those in the Phenician Sea, for the purple dye.”—Paus. in Lacon.

§ “Sine dubio est Hispania called Tarshish, from the port and island Tartessus, formerly so famous, in the mouth of the Bætis, as Bochart, Phal. i. iii. c. 7, and Mich. Spic. p. 82, show.” The coast is called Tarseion by Polybius.—L. iii. Rosen. p. 83.

|| Bochart, iii. 5, and Mich. p. 103, agree that “it is undoubtedly the name of the middle part of Italy, about Rome. A city in Latium was called Ketra. About Cumæ was a river called Ketos.”—Dion. Hal. Eusebius says that the Latins sprang from the Kitiol, and the Romans also. Suidas mentions, “Latini, now Romans, for Telephus, the son of Hercules, who was called Latius, changed the name of those, who before that were denominat Ketii, into Latini.”—Suidas, Voc. Latīnoi. v. ii. p. 13.

¶ Some MSS. have Rhodanim, which name induces Bochart to refer him to the inhabitants of Gallia Rhodanensis on the Rhone.—L. iii. c. 6. But the best MSS. call it Dodanim; and on this word, Michaelis thinks we should recollect the Dodona of Epirus, where the most ancient oracle of Greece was so famous.—Spic. p. 120.

Japhet and his offspring are ascribed generally, by the Mosaic record, all the insular or maritime populations and colonies of the Gentile nations.* These outlines comprise the principal points that you need attend to in your general studies. You can enlarge upon them at your leisure, if you like to exercise yourself in farther investigations ; only keep your mind from having any favourite idea or speculations that may seduce it beyond the paths of sound and steady judgment.

LETTER XXV.

Outlines of the State of the Earliest Civilized Nations—The Ethiopians, Egyptians, Phenicians, and Babylonians—Their Attainments and Defects—The Superior Improvement of Greece

MY DEAR SON,

THE most civilized nations which have appeared in the world, are so many links of a connected chain, which has been extending and enlarging from the deluge to our own time. The family of Ham stand prominent at the commencement as its founders ; and as he was sufficiently mature in age, when the old world ceased, to have imbibed its social and mental acquisitions, and had the benefit of his father's larger acquaintance with them, and also had the companionship of his elder brothers, we may assume, that the settlement of his children represented, generally, the state and progress of the civilization and attainments of the antediluvian world. The renewed world, therefore, began with a population, enjoying as high a degree of civilization as the cultivation of mind and manners in the destroyed races had enabled the preserved survivors to acquire and transmit ; and as this extended to the invention of such musical instruments as the harp and connected pipes of melodious sound, and to the discovery and use of brass and iron, and to various arts of working in them, and to the

* "By these were the isles of the Gentiles divided in their lands ; every one after his tongue, after their families, in their nations."—Gen. x. 5.

building of cities,* mankind could not have recommenced their human life in that brutal and barbarous state which some of the ancients imagined.†

The four civilized nations which were founded by the children of Ham were the Ethiopians, the Egyptians, the Phenicians, and the Babylonians; and these states preceded all others which authentic history notices, in their intellectual attainments and activities.

The Ethiopians have been already alluded to in our remarks on Cush.‡ It is the opinion of some of our contemporaries, from the monumental remains and hieroglyphical inscriptions found in Nubia, so much resembling those of Egypt, that the ancient Egyptians had a Nubian or Ethiopian origin. But as some of the ancient kings of Egypt at times subdued and reigned over the Ethiopian Meroe, and formed columns, temples, and inscriptions there,§ this fact will account for such edifices being now observable. At the same time we may remember, that as Cush and Mizraim were brothers, the arts which the one knew, the other could not be ignorant of. Their respective families would partake of these improvements, and when one branch settled in Nubian Ethiopia, and the other moved down the Nile to what became, under its settlement, Upper Egypt, each would make its sacred edifices and public monuments for itself; and these, from their kindred origin, would, in their primitive forms, naturally resemble each other.

But it is probable that the Ethiopian line of Ham had connexions or ramifications in the Indian Peninsula. As we have already remarked, they were deemed a colony from India.|| It is not improbable that the temples and idol fig-

* See Genesis, iv. 17, 21, 22.

† Some represent the earth as generally in this state, others the particular countries they mention. Thus in Crete, "their dwellings were in the woody parts of mountains, in the caves of valleys, or in places where nature gave them a shelter; for the building of houses was not yet found out."—Diod. Sic. 334. So in Greece, "men were living on growing buds, herbs, and roots, but Pelasgus taught them that acorns and beech mast were more healthful; he likewise led them to build huts to keep off the rain and cold, and to make coats of the skins of swine."—Pausan. Arc. 456.

‡ See before, note † on p. 361. Strabo mentions the Ethiopian Tearchon's warlike expeditions into Europe, and as having extended to the Strait of Gibraltar.—L. xv. p. 1007.

§ Note ‡ on p. 364. In Strabo's time they had fallen mostly into a nomadical and poor condition.—L. xv. p. 1125.

|| Note ¶ on p. 364. Apollonius Tyanensis, when he passed from
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ures excavated from the rock in the caves of Ellora, on the western side of India, near Bombay, may represent to us some of the works and rites of this branch of the ancient nations.* There are several other caverned excavations in this side of the peninsula;† of these the most remarkable, and which may have a still nearer relation to the descendants of Cush, are the caves of Elephanta;‡ they have man-

Egypt into Ethiopia, is described, by his biographer, to have found Gymnosophists there, to whom he said, "You praise the Indians because you were formerly Indians yourselves, and, urged by angry prodigies, came from their country hither; you would rather seem to be any thing than Ethiopians who have come from India; now you would rather worship in the Egyptian manner than in your own."—Philost. l. vi. c. 6, p. 277.

* Engravings from these may be conveniently seen in Fisher's views in India. They are thought to be images of the Boodh kind. The grand cave there is the Bioma Kurn. "It has been excavated with an arched roof, and with its lofty vaulted ceiling, solid octagonal pillars, long-vaulted aisle, and colossal image, is very striking. The temple of Kylas is the most perfect; its central building rises in the midst of a wide area, all scooped out from the solid rock to the height of one hundred feet, being one immense block of isolated excavation, upward of five hundred feet in circumference, containing many apartments; beyond are three galleries, supported upon pillars containing forty-two gigantic figures of gods and goddesses. The Rameswar temple consists of a fine hall seventy-two feet long and fifteen high. There is another temple thirty-one feet square in a recess of this. The principal apartment is supported by pillars and pilasters; the roof and walls are covered with figures of deities, in dance and revelry; the principal figures are skeletons; at their southern extremity they are terminated by the Dher Warra cave. The principal hall is one hundred feet long and forty in breadth, supported by pillars. The rock from which these tables are wrought is hard red granite.

† "They are not now venerated by the Hindoos. The attendant Bramins say that the skeletons are rakshesas, or demons."—E Roberts' Description.

‡ "One fact deserves notice. A greater number of magnificent cave-temples present themselves on this part of the west coast of the peninsula of India, than are to be met with anywhere else in Hindostan. Those of Canara, Amboli, and some others on the Island of Salsette; the fine cave of Carli, on the road to Poona, by the Bor Ghaut; the smaller cave temples in the Kohan, and near the Adjunta Pass, are all on Mahratta ground."—Hall's Fragm. Voy. v. iii. p. 257.

§ "The Elephanta Island is called by the natives Gara-poori, or place of caves, and lies six miles from Bombay, and five from the main shore. In the great cave, the gigantic triple head forms the principal feature. It represents its divinity only down to the breast, and is nearly eighteen feet from the top of the cap to the bottom of the image. All these figures are carved out of the solid trachyte rock. It lies in a recess cut in the rock to the depth of thirteen feet. The cap is richly adorned with figures and flowers; among which are a scull and a serpent.

"The lower lip of all the figures seems thickest, and more African than Asiatic. There are a large crowd of minor deities. The spacious front is supported by two massy pillars and two pilasters, forming three openings under a steep rock. Large ranges of columns appear closing in

ifestly not been made at any one time, nor under one system of opinion, and therefore belong to different eras.* But being of that side of India which lies most contiguous to the Red Sea, and to the coast of Ethiopia, they are most likely to mark the regions in the Hindoo peninsula from which the Ethiopians originated, or to which they were, if ever, related. I do not affirm the alleged affinity, but I wish to lay before you such facts as are most likely to have been connected with it, if it really subsisted.†

But the earliest civilization of the repeopling earth was most conspicuously displayed in the kingdom of Egypt. Its inhabitants always considered and represented themselves to be the most ancient nation in the world,‡ and Aristotle, with other Grecians, submits to their pretensions.§ Their country received many denominations; but that which was derived from the son of Ham, is the name by which the Arabian geographers and historians, as well as Moses and the Jewish prophets and chronologers, designate it—a confirming evidence of the real origin of its population.||

perspective on every side. Darkness obscures the interior of the temple, which is dimly lighted only by the entrances. Gigantic gloomy stone figures are ranged along the walls; and bewn, like the whole temple, out of the rock.

"The Great Cave was 130 feet deep from the chief entrance to the farther end, and 133 feet broad from the east to the west entrance. The height varies from 17½ to 15 feet."—Erskine, in Hall's Frag. v. iii. 229, &c.

* Of these caves, those of Kanara and Carli seem to have belonged to the Bouddhists; Amboli and Elephanta to the Bramin system; and those of Ellora to both.

† That there is some common relation between the images in these caves and those in Nubia and Egypt, seems to be proved by the veneration paid by the sepoy in Sir David Baird's army, which was transported from India to Egypt to assist against the French there, when the Hindoo soldiers saw the images in the temples on the Nile, from a feeling of the similitude to their own.—Porphry mentions, that "the most ancient peoples, *παλαιωτάτων*, before temples were thought of, consecrated hollow caverns and caves to their gods."—*De Ant. Num.* p. 121.

‡ Herodotus mentions, "they thought themselves to be the first of all men, *πρωτους παγτων ανθρωπων*; the Phrygians claimed the same antiquity; and Psammeticus thought he could decide the question by having a babe brought up among sheep with the ewe's milk, where he could hear no human voice, and by having it observed what sound he would first utter. When the shepherd entered the fold at the fit time, the animal-nursed infant expressed a tone that seemed like 'Bekos'; and the king, finding this word used by the Phrygians for bread, deemed it a proof that they were the elder nation!"—*Herod.* l. ii. c. 2.

§ Arist. Meteor. quoted in note * on p. 324.

|| Eustathius mentions that it was in histories called *Aeria*, and *Pota-*

That it was the country the most devoted to religion of all antiquity, is the statement of the Grecian writers.* We have only to lament that such a noble feeling should have been connected with such degrading superstitions. It will not be necessary to tell you how celebrated Egypt was for the arts and sciences, which she cultivated and possessed beyond any other country, as you are aware of the fact, and that the Grecian philosophers and statesmen went to her cities and priesthood to gain knowledge from them.† It was from them that Moses received his education, while he was brought up under the care of the Egyptian princess who had preserved him from perishing in the Nile.‡ It was their country which the Deity selected to be the chosen spot in which he raised his Hebrew nation, from the seventy individuals who entered it during the administration of its viceroy, Joseph, their countryman, and were stationed in its Goshen province,§ to the six hundred thousand who left it under the conduct of Moses.|| It was to Egypt also that Athens owed the commencement of her intellectual improvements and chief population, from the colony of Saïtes, under Cecrops,

ma, and Aetia.—Eust. Dionys. p. 35. In the Hebrew Scriptures it is Mizraim, as mentioned in the former Letter, xxiv. p. 366. The Arabians term it Mear or Mier, and its chief city, Memphis, by the same appellation. They write that the Egyptians themselves named this city Monf, from which the Greeks made their Memphis. The Orientals divide Egypt into three parts; the most southern they call Said, the Thebais, up to Cairo: the second, Rif, from Cairo to the Delta, and this they named Gwuf; after Alexandria was built, Memphis acquired the name of Babilion. The Arabs, on their triumph, built another city near it, to which they gave the name Caherah, or Victorious, the present Grand Cairo.—D'Herbelot. Bibl. Or. i. p. 579.

* Herod. l. ii. c. 37. Lucian. Imag. The latter says, that they formed their personal names from those of their gods. We have an instance of this in that of their celebrated Queen Nitocris. Eratosthenes says, this means the victorious Minerva.—Sync. p. 104. We can verify this assertion for ourselves; for Plato says, in his Timæus, p. 1043, that Minerva was worshipped at Saïs, and denominated there Neith. This is obviously the first syllable of Nitocris.

† The two legislators of Athens and Sparta, Solon and Lycurgus, as well as Orpheus, Pythagoras, Plato, and other Greek philosophers, visited Egypt. Plato took his laws from Egypt.—Diod. Sic. p. 68. They first invented geometry, and taught it to several of Greece.—Strab. l. xvi. p. 1098, 1136. "The Egyptians first of all men discovered the year, and divided it into twelve parts, and learned this from the stars. They gave thirty days to each month, and added five more to complete the solar circuit. They first engraved living things on stones."—Herod. l. ii. c. 4.

‡ Exod. ii. 4-10.

§ Gen. xlv. 21.

|| Exod. xii. 37.

who first founded there a political state;* as Argos, once the predominant city of ancient Greece, and Rhodes, also derived their early civilization from Danaus.† From Egypt also the Grecians received their gods and oracles, and much of their ceremonial worship;‡ so that she became the maternal parent of the mind of Greece, and transmitted to it her civilizing arts and knowledge. The paintings on her tombs reveal to us the skill they had attained in drawing, and in the fine colours they used, which are still fresh and vivid. The numerous hieroglyphical figures neatly cut in the hardest stones, exhibit their sculptorial art. In the columns of their temples, the principles of Grecian architecture may be traced, and the gigantic statues of their kings surprise the spectator by their just proportions, as well as by their size.§

* "The Athenians were a colony of Saïtes from Egypt" (Diod. Sic. l. i. p. 24; so Theopompus, and Afric. ap. Euseb. Pr. p. 491), and were divided into the three classes of patricians, honoured like the Egyptian priests, husbandmen, and military.—Diod. ib. Cecrops led them, "and first established the law at Athens, that each man should have only one wife: before this there was promiscuous intercourse and no marriages. From that time the Greeks lived decorously."—Suidas, v. ii. p. 607. Athen. l. xiii. p. 555. He also "first introduced Jupiter as a god at Athens, and forbade any thing living to be sacrificed to him."—Pausan. l. viii. p. 456. He also brought in the custom of burying the body in the earth.—Cic. Leg. l. ii. "Philochoerus states that Cecrops came when the Carians by sea, and the Boeotian Aones, by land, were plundering and ravaging the Attic region. He first collected the scattered inhabitants, and formed them into twelve towns; which Theseus afterward aggregated into one, making Athens the seat of the government."—Strabo, l. ix. p. 609.

† "Danaus and Lynceus, who were Chermnites, sailed from Egypt to Greece."—Herod. l. ii. c. 91. The Parian Marbles place this event one thousand two hundred and forty-seven years before they were inscribed, or one thousand five hundred and eleven years before the Christian era, p. 4. Diod. Sic. gives the account of Danaus. He went first to Rhodes, and built the temple of Minerva there, with her statue. Three of his daughters died there, and the rest accompanied him to Argos.—L. v. p. 329. Obtaining the command of these regions, he ordered the people to be called Danaoi, who before were termed Pelasgi.—Euripides in Archelao. He built the Acropolis at Argos.—Strabo, l. viii. p. 570. His daughters taught the women the mysteries of Ceres.—Herod. l. ii. c. 171. He introduced from Egypt the art of making wells, which at Argos were called Dipision.—Pliny l. vii. c. 57.

‡ "The Egyptians first had the names and titles of the twelve chief gods, and from them the Greeks derived these. They first raised altars, temples, and images; almost all the names of the gods came from Egypt into Greece." Herod. l. ii. c. 4, 50. On the oracles and rites from Egypt, see also c. 51-8.

§ The late M. Champollion, jun., has described these in his interesting

They were a valuable nation. It was there that, in opposition to polygamy, they made it the law, at least as to one portion of their community, that each man should have only one wife,* which Cecrops introduced into Athens. They considered all men to be equal in nature and at death in Egypt, and therefore took no account of their rank or ancestry in their judicial responsibility; but when life had ceased, and the body was about to be committed to the sepulchre, they subjected every one to an inquiry, what kind of a life he had lived in society. Judges summoned the relations. The corpse was taken into the lake in a boat, and any one might accuse. If the man when living was deemed to have been guilty of what they thought a crime, he was not to be interred. On this account, piety, justice, continence, and other virtues, were carefully taught to their youth.†

They seem to have been peculiarly anxious to have a moral character of life carefully cultivated by their population; and upon this they grounded their funeral ceremonies, of which the chant of prayer for the dead, expressing the proper conduct of his life, was a leading part.‡

Letters from Egypt, printed in Ferussac's Bulletin Univ. Before his death he printed, with M. Rosellini, a prospectus for publishing engravings of the monuments of Egypt and Nubia, of which he and his collaborateurs had made drawings in four hundred plates. This states that they would contain details of the civil and domestic life of the Egyptians: huntings, with coloured birds and quadrupeds; fishing; training of cattle; agriculture; culture of the vine; arts and trades; domestic manners and furniture; music and dancing; amusements; military caste; shipping and trade; tribunals and funeral ceremonies; public worship and astronomical tables. The statue of Rhameses or Sesostris, apparently a portrait, the most vast Colossus they attempted, measures sixty feet around the shoulders.

* Suidas mentions this as a law established in Egypt by their Vulcan.—Suid. v. ii. p. 607. Yet Diodorus confines this to the priests: "others may take as many as they choose."—L. i. p. 72.

† Diod. Sic. l. i. p. 83.

‡ Porphyry relates this: "Raising the coffin to the sun, they invoke him with this prayer, which Euphantus has thus translated from the Egyptian language:

"O Lord Sun! and all ye gods who bestow life on mankind! accept me, and make me a favoured inmate with the gods of Hades. I worshipped, while I lived, the divinities whom my parents taught me. I honoured those who gave my body its being on earth. I have never killed any one. I have never cheated any. I have not done any other inexpiable crime. If I sinned while I lived by eating or drinking any thing I ought not, I did not sin in myself, but in these my bowels."—*Here a separate vessel containing these, extracted from the corpse, was*

It is painful to think that, with minds so active and ingenious, and having attained to such improvements, they should worship bulls and goats, and even consecrate cats and dogs, and bury them as sacred animals in a mummied form, of which great numbers have been found in their elaborate tombs.*

This depravity was much later than the time of their first ancestors.† Their Ethiopian kinsmen had the same abomination; for Pliny mentions that in one part they had a golden she-cat for the goddess of their worship.‡ They exhibited a great contrast of much wisdom and deplorable absurdity. Their belief that the soul survived its body, and was immortal,§ was a tradition of intellectual truth which they had retained from their first ancestors; but they spoiled its effect by adopting the notion that at death it transmigrated into all kinds of animals, to return, after a circle of ages, into the body it had quitted;|| an opinion which now, perhaps from them, pervades all the eastern nations, from the Indus to the Chinese seas. Still more preposterous was the belief that the gods took refuge in the bodies of animals, from the wickedness and violence of men, and, therefore, that the animals they deemed sacred were to be worshipped, as containing the divinities whom they revered.¶ Other abominable prac-

exhibited, and cast into the river. The rest of the body was then deemed pure."—Porphyrus de Abstin. l. iv. s. 10.

* It was made death for any one to kill a cat voluntarily. "When one died naturally, all in the house shaved their eyebrows."—Herod. l. ii. c. 66. A Roman, killing one accidentally, was destroyed by the populace, though the king's guards struggled to rescue him. Diodorus witnessed this, p. 74. If a dog died, the whole body and head were shaved.—Ib.

† Manetho shows this, for it is in his second dynasty of their kings that he places "Kalechos, who reigned 39 years. Under him, the Bulls, Apis in Memphis, and Mnevis in Heliopolis, and the Minderian goat, were appointed to be gods."—Cory's Ancient Fragments, p. 98.

‡ "Rhadata, in quo felis aurea pro Deo colebatur."—Pliny, l. vi. c. 35.

§ "The Egyptians were the first who declared the soul to be immortal."—Herod. l. ii. c. 123.

|| "But on the death of the body they taught that it always went into some other living animal; and after passing through all on the land, in the seas, and birds, would again resume a human body after a circuit of 3000 years."—Herod. c. 123. Hence they made and preserved their mummies to be ready to receive again their soul in the due time.

¶ "The priests hold this secret opinion. It is stated in their theologies, that the gods being, when first generated, but few, and men, from their numbers and wickedness, prevailing against them, they transfigured themselves into the likenesses of animals, and by this means escaped the

tices and superstitions were also devised and established by them.* But these circumstances demonstrate to us that whatever improvements they had acquired, human nature would but deteriorate under their guidance; and therefore the process of civilization was transferred from them, as they became stationary and retrograding; and was begun, under their tuition, in the more recent states of Greece, to be by these farther advanced into superior progression.

Contemporaneously with these, or but a little after them, the active PHENICIAN nation was stationed, at no great distance from them, on the eastern shores of that important sea, the MEDITERRANEAN, which had been destined, and perhaps intentionally formed, to be the scene and seat of the civilized nations of the ancient world. As its ancestor Canaan would be at first with the rest of his family on the coasts of the Red Sea, it corresponds with this ancestry that it was from thence that the first shoots of the Phenician population transferred themselves to the coast of Syria.† Here the earliest known settlement was at Sidon; and as this was the name of Canaan's eldest son,‡ we may presume that it was founded by him. All the states or little nations which arose and became so prosperous, and so corrupt in their prosperity, in those regions of Syria which were called the land of Canaan, were diffusions of the same family, and are known in the

cruelty and violence of mankind; but afterward gaining the command of the world, they consecrated in grateful return the beasts which had been the means of safety to them, and required them to be sustained while alive, and buried religiously when they died."—Diod. Sic. xli. p. 77. Anton. Liberalis, out of Nicander, specifies these transformations: Apollo took the hawk's form; Mercury, the ibis; Mars, a fish; Diana, the cat; Bacchus, a goat; Hercules, a colt; Vulcan, an ox, and Latona, a weasel.—In Typh. 28. Marsham, Chron. p. 66. "The soul of Osiris they thought migrated into the bull they worshipped."—Diod. p. 76.

* Diodorus and Herodotus mention their Priapian worship. They allowed also the incestuous marriages between brothers and sisters; they had also the custom of human sacrifices, see note § on p. 381: and this is indicated by what Cecrops did in the beginning of his voyage to Greece. Porphyry mentions, that he went first to Cyprus, and there a man was sacrificed to his daughter. This custom lasted until the times of Diomed, when it was changed into sacrificing the men to him. The victim was led three times round the altar. The priest then stabbed him, with a lance, in the stomach, and he was then placed on a pile and burnt.—Porph. *περὶ τροφ.* l. ii. c. 54.

† "The Phenicians themselves say, that they formerly dwelt on the Red Sea, and passing from thence, stationed themselves on the seacoast of Syria. All this region of Syria, up to Egypt, is called PALAESTINE."—Herod. l. vii. c. 89.

‡ Genesis, x. 15.

Hebrew history by the appellation of the Canaanites.* They spread from Sidon to the Euphrates on the east, and to the boundary river of Egypt on the south.†

The Phenicians became distinguished for improvements, different in kind from those of the kingdom of the Pharaohs, but which became great additions to human civilization. Two of these particularly advanced it. One was, the direction of their minds to navigation, and maritime commerce, and colonization.

Nationally hating the sea, from superstitious impressions connected with their paganism, the Egyptians shunned the ocean,‡ and were so adverse to intercourse with strangers, that one of their kings has become branded by the Greeks for cruelly sacrificing those who landed on his coasts.§ But the Phenicians devoted themselves to foreign voyages and traffic.|| From Sidon arose Tyre.¶ These cities planted colonies in many parts of Europe and Africa, which afterward became distinguished in the history of mankind.** Tyre

* Gen. x. 15-18. They were the Hittites, from Heth; the Zebusites, Amorites, Gargasites, Hivites, Arkites, Arvadites, Zemarites, and Hamathites.

† Genesis, x. 19, and xiii. 14, and xv. 18-21.

‡ Plutarch mentions that "they bear enmity to the sea, as a savage element, as a mortal enemy to man's nature. In it was lost the father and saviour of Egypt—their Osiris. They think nothing which it breeds or nourishes is clean or fit for man. From the hatred they bear to the sea, they will not salute any pilot or mariners whenever they meet them, because they get their living on the sea."—Sympos. l. viii. c. 8.

§ This was Busiris. But Diodorus says, "It was not the name of a king, but of the tomb of Osiris, where the Egyptian king sacrificed the red men who came into the country, because Typhon, the enemy of their Osiris, was of that colour."—Diod. S. l. i. p. 79.

|| "They came from the Red Sea to this, the Mediterranean, and settling in the regions which they now inhabit, devoted themselves immediately to distant voyages."—Herod. l. i. c. 1.

¶ "The Sidonians, attacked by the King of Ascalon, taking to their ships, built Tyre before the destruction of Troy."—Justin, l. xviii. c. 3. Isaiah calls it "the daughter of Zidon."—xxiii. 11. As Homer notices Sidon, but not Tyre, twice in the Iliad, vi. v. 289; xxiii. v. 743; and twice in the Odyssey, iv. v. 54; xv. v. 144; we may infer that Tyre had not then acquired an equal notoriety. "It was the greatest and most ancient of the Phenician cities, after Sidon."—Strabo, l. xvi. p. 1007. Joshua mentions both with this distinction,—he calls the one "Great Zidon," xi. 8; xix. 28; the other, "the strong city Tyre," or Tzor, xix. 29.

** "Colonies were founded in Africa and Spain, and beyond the Pillars of Hercules,—the Straits of Gibraltar."—Strabo, lb. These last words point towards Britain. . . . Mela calls Sidon "the greatest of the maritime cities, before it was taken by the Persians."—L. i. c. 13.

founded the Carthaginian state.* Cadmus led a colony of Phenicians to Greece, and built Thebes in Bœotia.† Several islands in the Archipelago were settled by them, and Malta and Sardinia in the Mediterranean. Their colonies were in Spain, and most probably in Britain.‡

Their other peculiarity, still more important in its intellectual consequences, was that they invented or used, and introduced into Europe, alphabetical writing; while Egypt and China only knew, or in these ancient times only practised, those hieroglyphical symbols which veiled the knowledge they expressed from all but the deeply-initiated, and which do not seem capable of much more than recording the facts and scanty ideas contained in their inscriptions.

This veil our contemporaries have begun to lift up,§ but without being rewarded by any thing that is connected with science or thinking mind.

In later periods an alphabetical writing appears to have been produced; but the invention and first use of this important instrument of intellectual communication and thought were universally ascribed by the ancients to the Phenician states.¶ Besides letters, the Phenicians also invented,

* Solinus says, "Carthage was destroyed 737 years after it was built."—C. 30. As it fell in the 608th year of Rome, this date places its foundation 129 years before Romulus built his city.

† Herod. l. v. c. 57. He established his sway over the country.—Strabo, l. ix. p. 615. "Which was called Kadmeis, from him up to the 60th year after the fall of Troy, when the Bœotians prevailing there, it received the name of Bœotia."—Thucyd. l. i. Some Arabs are said to have accompanied Cadmus.—Strabo, l. x. p. 685.

‡ Bochart has collected, very elaborately, the ancient authorities for the colonies planted by the Phenicians in his Canaan. . . . The Hercules Osmius of Gaul evinces their presence in France, and the Hercules discovered at Strasburg, with three golden apples in his hands, with the temple that was dedicated to him there, indicates that they had reached the Rhine—as Heraclea on the Euxine shores, that they had extended their colonies to the eastern end of that sea.

§ The Rosetta stone with its triple inscription in the hieroglyphical symbols, in the enchorial writing, and in Greek, roused many to endeavour to decipher the Egyptian figures; and now by the successive labours of Dr. Young, Mr. Salt, and M. Champollion the younger, a great advance has been made. Mr. W. Banks, Professor Seyfarth, Mr. Wilkinson, and some other gentlemen, have also enlarged the field of discovery. So much has now been done that a grammar and dictionary have been constructed on what have been deciphered, and justify an expectation of large additions, as new minds apply to the study.

¶ "The Phenicians who came with Cadmus, as they brought other knowledge into Greece, so they likewise introduced letters (γράμματα),

or peculiarly cultivated arithmetic, and other arts and sciences.*

By these intellectual benefactions the Phenicians enlarged the improvement of human nature, and efficaciously contributed with the Egyptians to the instruction and education of the Grecian mind. But yet though contributing these benefits, they became unfit and unable to carry on the progression of mankind, for they also had vicious customs, which, if they had lasted or generally predominated, would have lessened the happiness, as well as the advancement of our race.

Kronos, or Saturn, was their predominant deity, and human sacrifices became one of his established rites. We see this custom in its dreadful operation in their colony of Carthage, and we find it in full practice in Phenicia. Like the Mexicans, in all difficulties and dangers, they sought relief from their adopted divinities by human sacrifices, and especially by offering their children, even of their highest ranks.† This

which, it appears to me, were not in Greece before, and first those which all the Phenicians use, but in process of time, they altered with the pronunciation the rhythmus of the letters."—Herod. l. v. c. 58.

"Cadmus brought from Phenicia into Greece 16 of the Greek letters, to which, in the Trojan war, Palamedes added these four, Θ, Ξ, Φ, Χ; as many, the Ζ, Η, Ψ, Ω, Simonides, the Melian, introduced. The power of all these is acknowledged in all times."—"The Pelasgi brought letters into Latium."—*Ib.*—Pliny, l. vii. c. 57. The Phenicians may have derived them from Moses; but the European world owes to them the diffusion of this grand instrument of communicating thought. Pliny remarks, "The tacit consent of all nations first concurred to use the letters of the Ionians. The ancient Greek ones were nearly the same as the present Latin ones. This is indicated by the Delphic table of ancient copper, which is now in the Palatium, in the library dedicated to Minerva."—*Ib.*, ii. c. 58.

* "This Phenician nation was in great glory for the invention of letters, and of the knowledge of the stars, and of the military and naval arts."—Pliny, l. v. c. 13. He also ascribes to Cadmus Phenix the firing and fusing of gold, at the Pangean mountain; and to the Phenicians the ballista and the sling; also the cymba, and the observation of the stars while sailing.—*Ib.* vii. c. 57. "The Sidonians were masters of many of the best arts—they were skilled in astronomy and arithmetic, led to these by their calculations and night navigations: hence astronomy and arithmetic sprang from them as geometry from the Egyptians."—Strabo, l. xvi. p. 1098. Porphyry also ascribes to them the arts of numbers and proportions.—*De Vita Pyth.* p. 4.

† Philo, in the first book of his Phenician history, wrote, "It was the custom with the ancients in great dangers that the leaders of the cities or nations should surrender the most beloved of their sons to be publicly slain to redeem them (*λυτρον*) from the divine wrath or punishment. Those thus devoted were mystically put to death." He relates that one of their kings, who after his death had been consecrated into the planet.

was habitually done as the established religion of the country.* They carried this custom with them into their colonies.† We know that they made their Kronos and this terrible rite the public religion of Carthage, where it was practised, and at times with a dreadful amount of human victims.‡ This idol was exactly the Moloch against which the Jewish lawgiver and the prophets so emphatically warned their nation; § and the use of it, to a fearful extent, by the Druids of our ancient Britain, is one of the facts that induce me to think, that our island owed this celebrated priesthood of their Pagan antiquity to this colonizing nation.|| It was

Kronos or Saturn, and assumed that name, when in great danger from war, sacrificed his only son in his princely state, on the altar he had built himself.—Euseb. Rep. l. iv. c. 16.

* Porphyry mentions the same fact. "The Phenicians, when in great perils from war, famine, or pestilence, sacrificed to Saturn one of those who were most dear to them, chosen out by the public suffrage. The history of Sanchoniathon, written in the Phenician language, is full of such victims. Philo Hyblus translated this into eight books."—Porphy. *περί αποχρησ.* l. ii. c. 56.

† Sir John Marshall remarks this in his valuable Chronicle: "Cum Phenicum coloniis," this nefaria religio of human slaughter "in insulas, in Europam, in Africam, late propagata est."—Chron. Eg. p. 77. They had a temple to Kronos in their Spanish settlement.—Strabo, 257.

‡ We have this account in Diodorus, when they were pressed by the successes of Agathocles: "They thought Kronos must have become hostile to them, because having sacrificed to this god in former times the most noble of their sons, they had afterward substituted children privately bought and bred up to be the victims; when, therefore, they saw the enemy's camps before their city, they immolated, by a public sacrifice, 200 of their noblest youths; and not fewer than 300 more, who were under accusations, willingly offered up themselves."—Diod. l. xx. p. 756.

§ Diodorus thus describes the Moloch of Carthage: "They had a brazen statue of Kronos, who extended his hands, turned upward, yet so bending to the earth that the children thrown into them rolled down, through the hollowed image, into great furnaces of fire below it."—Ib.

|| Cæsar informs us, that the Druids made images of wickerwork, of an immense size, which they filled with living men, whom they burnt alive. They put in these thieves and robbers; but if there were not criminals enough they added others, till the required number was completed. They did this on the principle, that their endangered lives could only be redeemed from the peril by the lives of others being sacrificed, and that there was no other mode of making their gods propitious to them.—Cæsar Com. l. vi. c. 15. Human sacrifices were in several nations,—but to destroy the victims by fire announces a Phenician origin.

It indicates, also, a Phenician intercourse and colonization in some of the British Islands, that one of these was called the Island of Kronos, and was represented to be the place where Jupiter confined him. Denetorius said that there were several desert islands about the British Islands, some of which were islands of demons; others, of heroes. He found them to be all held sacred by the Britons, and preserved from all luxury,

one of the great abominations which were prevailing in the Canaanitish nations, whom the Hebrews invaded,* and was such a favourite practice, and so inveterate in the country, that it was adopted even by Solomon in the deluded period of his life,† and after him was pertinaciously adhered to at Jerusalem, till the Babylonian sword destroyed their city and expatriated their population.‡ It was one of the reasons for which several of the Phenician states of Canaan were so destroyed, in their defensive contests with Joshua and his assailing countrymen. The prohibitions of the Jewish legislator show us features of the dark side of the Phenician character, which evince that human nature would not have improved under their domination.§ On this account, when,

and that one of these islands was that in which Briareus kept Kronos bound and in a deep sleep.—Plut. Defect. Orac. In another treatise, he mentions this "Island of Kronos" again, and that Kronos was said to be personally there, lying asleep in the deep cave of a hollow rock glittering like pure gold; and that birds fly down to him from the top of the rock, and keep him alive by feeding him with ambrosia.—Plut. Fac. Lun. These accounts imply that Kronos was known and revered in Britain.

* Moses gave his people this law, in opposition to the practice of Canaan—"Thou shalt not let any of thy seed pass through the fire to Molech."—Lev. xviii. 21. "Whosoever giveth any of his seed unto Molech, he shall surely be put to death: the people of the land shall stone him with stones."—xx. 2. In his final exhortation he charged his nation—"Be not snared by following them—*inquire not after their gods—say not, I will do so likewise; for every abomination to the Lord, which he hateth, have they done unto their gods; for even their sons and their daughters they have burnt in the fire to their gods.*"—Deut. xii. 30, 31.

† 1 Kings, xi. 5. 7.

‡ Hence we find all the ancient prophets denouncing its imitation in Judea. Thus Jeremiah, "They built the high places of Baal which are in the valley of the son of Hinnom, to cause their sons and their daughters to pass through the fire unto Molech."—xxxii. 35. So Ezekiel was directed to utter, "Declare unto them their abominations: blood is in their hands—they have caused their sons, whom they bare unto me, to pass *for them* through the fire to devour them—they defiled my sanctuary in the same day; for when they had slain their children to their idols, then they came, the same day, into my sanctuary to profane it."—Ez. xxiii. 36-39.

§ Moses explicitly declared this:—"Thou shalt not learn to do after the abominations of those nations. There shall not be found among you any one that maketh his son or daughter to pass through the fire, or that useth divination, or an observer of times, or an enchanter, or a witch, or a charmer, or a consulter with familiar spirits, or a wizard, or a necromancer. For all that do these things are an abomination to the Lord; and because of these abominations, the Lord thy God *doth drive them out from before thee.*"—Deut. xviii. 9-12. In Leviticus, xviii. 23, 24, Moses pointed out other loathsome crimes, the most disgraceful to human nature, adding, "In all these the nations are defiled which I cast out before you."

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like the Mexicans in the central regions of America, they were beginning to spread their power over the contiguous countries; and when, if they had not been thus opposed, they would have done so, just as Carthage was prevailing in Africa, Spain, and Sicily, till the Romans ended their progress; the Hebrew people were led specially to subdue seven of their most prosperous inland communities. The Phenicians were upheld to do all the good which their useful discoveries and acquisitions could impart to Greece and to mankind; but being unfitted by their deteriorating customs and qualities to predominate farther, they were first weakened and checked by the invasion and settlements of the Jewish nation, and then debilitated by the Babylonian conqueror, and finally dispossessed of all power by the establishment over Asia of the Persian empire. Alexander struck at them again, in their last attempt at revival in their new Tyre; and they dwindled into a complete fulfilment of what the Jewish prophets had declared was to be their destiny.* You will find it to be a law of national providence, repeatedly put into action, that every prosperous nation, as every inculcated system, however powerful, and successful, and improved during the time of its enlargement and influence, has been checked, as soon as it has deviated into the depravities and errors which deteriorate human nature, or obstruct its progress. Each has advanced in triumph, while it was benefiting mankind; each has fallen when it had accomplished all its use-

therefore do I visit the iniquity upon it, and the land vomiteth out her inhabitants itself."—24, 25.

* Ezekiel's vaticination was, "Behold, I am against thee, O Tyrus! and will cause many nations to come up against thee; and they shall destroy the walls of Tyrus, and break down her towers. I will also scrape her dust from her, and make her like the top of a rock. It shall be a place for the spreading of nets in the midst of the sea, for I have spoken it, saith the Lord God."—xxvi. 3-5. Major Markworth, on landing there in 1822, thus describes its present state: "Tyre is become a small Arab fishing town. Her superb palaces are buried in the sea, or covered with accumulated sand. A few of their proud columns are still standing, and appear to rise out of the bosom of the ocean. Many, lying prostrate, are visible beneath its waves. The ruins of her superb moles, to N. W. and S. W., are still nearly level with the surface of the sea, and afford good protection to vessels of small burden. The Turks and Arabs call it *Sour*."—*Diary*, p. 276. When Captain Fitzmaurice visited Tyre and Sidon in 1833, he found that "where the Phenician galleys once rode at anchor, Arab huts now rest on the dry lands around."—*Un. Serv. Journ.* 1834. p. 240. Compare these accounts with the 26th and 27th chapters of Ezekiel.

ful purposes; and a more improving one has been raised up and led into predominance in its stead.

BABYLON was the other most important civilized state founded by the family of Ham. Nimrod is declared to have begun his kingdom there,* and as he was the son of Cush, who settled in Ethiopia, and nephew of the brother who began the Egyptian population, he must have gone from one of these countries to the Euphrates, and this corresponds with the Egyptian tradition on this subject.† Babylon became one of the most distinguished cities in the ancient world.‡ Its territory was peculiarly rich and fertile from the irrigations of the Euphrates; but from the effect of the watery inundations, its name, like the Latin one of Paris, furnished a synonyme for mud.§ With the renown of Babylon you are familiar. It was proverbially declared to be one of the great wonders of the world, and this makes the circumstance more impressive to us, that when in the height of its grandeur, that total extirpation of it was predicted, which has been so completely fulfilled, that its exact site has been a subject of modern geographical debate.|| It was an important aid to the mental progress of the world, that it also had and used a symbolical writing in characters of its own, which bear the marks of an alphabetical kind. No books have been yet found in it, because its literature has long since utterly perished. But those numerous inscriptions called arrow-headed, from their prevailing form, appear on some of the remains of Persepolis, and on the

* Gen. x. 10. The Greek translators insert Babylon here as the meaning of the Hebrew Babel. Micah speaks of Nimrod's country as contiguous to Assyria. "They shall waste the land of Assyria with the sword, and the land of Nimrod in the entrances thereof."—v. 6.

† This was, that "Belus, son of Neptune and Libya, led an Egyptian colony to Babylon, and, settling on the Euphrates, instituted a priesthood like that of Egypt, who in the same manner observed the stars."—Diod. l. i. 17. Pausanias says of Belus, that he was an Egyptian, son of Libya.—Messen. p. 261.

‡ "Babylon, the head of the Chaldean nation, obtained the highest celebrity through the whole world."—Pliny, l. vi. c. 30.

§ Suidas has transmitted the expression "*Babylas, mud*," vi. p. 524, like Lutetia.

|| Isaiah's prophecies on it were, "I will make it a possession for the bittern, and pools of water. I will sweep it with the besom of destruction, saith the Lord of Hosts."—xiv. 23. "It shall never be inhabited, neither shall it be dwelt in from generation to generation; but wild beasts of the desert shall lie there."—xlii. 20. A.

bricks or tiles which are occasionally found in the heaps of rubbish that abound upon the station, which Babylon has been described to have occupied.* Her sages contributed to the advancement of astronomy by their observations of the planetary motions,† and had most probably influential and interesting connexions with India by their celebrated river, and the Persian Gulf into which it flows. They were important instruments of Providence in their brief day of imperial power; but that they were utterly unfit to be a leading and lasting empire in the world, is sufficiently evident from one only of their popular customs; and this was, that every female should be degraded, in the beginning of her mature life, in the temple of their chief divinity.‡

It appears to me not unlikely that Hindostan, or some parts of its southern peninsula, derived a considerable portion of its population and attainments from these branches of the Ham family. The intercourse is certain; many similarities exist between them, and the ancestral kinship highly probable; though the subject is too remote and obscure to admit of any thing much beyond the conjectural possibility.§

* The latest account that I have seen of these characters on the bricks is, that the arrow-head inscriptions of Babylon appear to be chiefly composed of symbols, and to consist of astronomical and genealogical records and monthly calendars. The tiles were thought to contain the maker's name; but the editor of the *Morning Watch* infers from his examinations, that the Babylonian bricks consist, for the most part, of monthly calendars or almanacs, each involving a series of either 30 or 35 numerical characters; the former having reference to common months of 30 days, and the latter to the twelfth or intercalary month, to which five days were added.

The characters consist of a series of seven characters answering to the planetary days of the week, which are found repeated in each calendar until the monthly number is completed.—*Morning Watch*, No. 15. We must leave it to the farther examination of others to decide whether these ingenious conjectures are well founded.

Of these bricks and inscriptions, Pliny says, "Epigenes, a very respectable authority, teaches that the Babylonians had observations on the stars for 720 years inscribed on baked tiles."—Pliny, l. vii. c. 57.

† The Babylonians computed their day from sunrise; the Athenians from sunset; the Romans, like ourselves, from midnight.—Censorinus, p. 132, 4. They applied their starry observations to astrological predictions.—Cicero, *Div.* l. iii. When Alexander took Babylon, Callisthenes found observations on the stars there for the 1903 years preceding.—*Simpl. de Cælo*. l. ii. They referred earthquakes to the action of the stars.—Pliny, ii. c. 81.

‡ Herod. l. i. c. 199.

§ "The Arabians divide the country of the Hindoos, which the Turks and Persians called Hindostan, into two parts, Hind and Sind. The word

But it is clear from the preceding facts, and from whatever else is known of all these early civilized nations, that none of these were fit to be the permanent empires or standards of mankind, either mentally or morally. Each had defects that would have vitiated more than it would have improved, in proportion as it predominated; and therefore another race of people was gradually raised up under their tuition, to whom the great cause of human civilization and progression was next intrusted; and who, acquiring all that their predecessors could teach, dropped what was most objectionable and pernicious in their institutions, opinions, and habits; and purifying it from these, added great intellectual beauties and riches of their own production. By these means they advanced human nature to a higher degree of excellence than it had previously reached, and than it could have attained from either an Ethiopian, Egyptian, Phenician, Babylonian, or Indian sovereignty,—I mean the Grecian populations.

These interesting people did not imbibe or perpetuate the animal worship, the animal transmigration of the soul, the incestuous marriages, the polygamy, or the belief that the gods lived in animal bodies, which Egypt was so attached to. Nor did they admit, but on the contrary, resisted and abolished, the dreadful practice of human sacrifice and child-burning of the Phenicians. The Babylonian law of depraving their females at the outset of life, was also avoided, and condemned as a shameful institution. These improvements, and the substitution of their superior Jupiter, to the gloomy and blood-stained Saturn or Kronos, we know that they effected; and these are enough to prove what a great stretch of progression in human nature was attained, by causing the Greek mind to be educated by their, at first, more civilized teachers, and afterward to rise so high above them, in the improvements to which they subsequently advanced.*

Sind signifies, properly, the Indus, and is extended to designate all the country on this side of the river westward, and beyond it on the east. The oriental geographers say, that eastward of the country of Sind lies that of Hind. They apply the name of Hind to all the regions of India up to and beyond the Ganges, from its source to its mouth. They call Turk Hind what our geography names Indo-Scythia, comprising Cabul and Turkistan."—D'Herb. Bibl. p. 804.

* That Babylon contributed to form the Grecian mind as well as the

It is interesting to contemplate the gradual training and formation of the Grecian people to this elevating destiny, but this is too large a subject to be part of a letter like the present. It is manifest that the colonies of Cecrops at Athens, Danaus at Argos, and Cadmus at Thebes, already noticed, were the nurses and instructors of their intellectual childhood, for the simple facts recorded on the Parian Marbles as to Athens, show us in what a rude state these foreign teachers found their uncultivated pupils, even in this celebrated place—the great refiner and metropolis of the ancient human intellect. I will shortly notice these, as they indicate from what an humble condition it was the will of Providence that she should ascend to her appointed glory; by what little steps her first improvements were made, and how completely the process appears to have been under his guidance.* For may we not justly say, that by him alone a soil more fit for olive than for corn, and a general country

other nations we may infer from one fact noticed by Herodotus: "The Grecians learned the Pole and the Gnomon, and the twelve parts of the day, from the Babylonians."—Her. i. i. c. 109.

* 1318 years before the inscription was made, or 1582 before the Christian era, Cecrops was at Athens, and 1257, Hellen, the son of Deucalion, reigned in Phthiotis, from whom the Grecians were called Hellenes; and Amphictyon, at Athens.

1255. Cadmus came to Thebes.

1252. Lacedemon and Eurotas governed in Laconia.

1247. Danaus came to Greece in his ship of 50 oars.

1242. Phryx first invented musical pipes, and first sang the melody called Phrygian.

1168. Minos reigned in Crete, and the Idæi Dactyle found out Iron in Mount Ida.

1145. Ceres came to Athens and sowed corn, and sent it to other regions by Triptolemus.

1142. Triptolemus first sowed corn at Eleusinia.

1135. Orpheus sang, and went after Proserpine and in search of Ceres.

1031. The Athenians had a dearth of corn, and were compelled to submit to the laws which Minos imposed.

995. Theseus formed the twelve towns into one city, Athens; and established its republic.

954. The Trojan war.—Parian Chron. 1. 8.

Thus corn was not sowed at Athens till 173 years after Cecrops, nor iron found out in Greece but a few years earlier; nor was it till Theseus united the twelve little towns into one city, like the seven hills into one Rome, that Athens attained a decided superiority. At this period we find from Thucydides, that piracy was the general habit of the nation, as among our Anglo-Saxon ancestors. Yet from such beginnings the intellectual Athens emerged into the finest state of the ancient mind and to undying fame.

nearly as mountainous as those regions where barbaric life has been most continuous, were yet made the homes of the most illustrious and meritorious people who had appeared on our earthly surface, before our Divine Legislator began the new era of wisdom, virtue, hope, and happiness to his human race, which is becoming brighter over all the globe, and which may be expected to be in due time everywhere, to use our Addison's words,

"Profuse of biles, and pregnant with delight."

Such rational anticipations of this result appear to me to be visible all around, that I rejoice that I have lived long enough to discern them, and only regret that, at my advanced period of life, I cannot expect to witness the meridian splendour which, as time rolls on, its circuits will spread over our terrestrial hemisphere. Summer clouds and summer storms may attend the glowing rays; but these will be transient, and only augment the effulgence and diversify its fertilizing efficacy—*Εσθρατ' ἤμαρ*.*

LETTER XXVI.

Cursory Review of the Abrahamic Nations of the World—The Edomites—Arabians—Midianites—And Others.

MY DEAR SON,

THE populations which originated from Abraham have been so important to the world, that they deserve a distinct notice from the historical student.

Abraham, like Solomon, has been always a personage of much celebrity among the oriental nations, and especially with those who are connected with Mesopotamia, and with the Arabian stock.† It was declared that he should be the

* All that Greece possessed and had so richly multiplied, refined, and expanded, became the property of the Roman mind in the future stage of human progression, with those additional improvements, which this all-conquering people largely added to it, before their period of decline began. The progression of mind and manners from their fall to our own happy day, is too obvious to every one for me here to delineate.

† Berosus notices him. "In the tenth generation after the flood, there

ancestor of several nations ;* and that his name might correspond with this prophetic assurance, it was changed from Abram to Abraham ; the latter name literally implying the father of great multitudes.† These descendants were to be of that worldly consequence, that royal governments and dignities were to mark their political greatness.‡

Four great streams of nations, accordantly with this prediction and promise, have issued from Abraham. The EDMITES, or Idumeans ; the Red Men of the east, who fixed their name on the Red Sea, descending from his grandson Esau : the Jews, from his grandson Jacob ; the ARABS, from his son Ishmael, by the Egyptian Hagar ; and those tribes and nations which arose in the regions east of Syria from his last children by Keturah. Two of these, the Jews and the Arabians, we know to have multiplied into great importance and celebrity, and to have continued in ever-renewed and preserved generations, amid all the waste and vicissitudes of destroying time, from the days of Abraham to our own times. Still his Hebrew and Arabian posterity exist in several millions, though nearly 4000 years have elapsed since Isaac and Ishmael were born to him. To no other ancestor can such a number of living descendants be now in any country traced. His other branch, from his grandson Esau, were also a copious and an active people, in the periods which preceded our era, and have traditions and possibilities attached to them which you ought to be in-

was among the Chaldeans a man, righteous, and great, and skilful in the celestial science." Hecataeus wrote a book concerning him. Nicolaus Damascenus, in the fourth book of his history, describes him as coming out of Chaldea, reigning at Damascus, and going from thence into the land afterward called Judea. He adds, "The name of Abram is even still famous in the country of Damascus. There is shewed a village named from him, 'The habitation of Abram.'"—Joseph. Antiq. l. i. c. 7. The Koran has preserved the Arabian traditions concerning him. The Caaba of Mecca and its venerated black stone, to which the Mussulmen from all regions make their pilgrimage, are ascribed to him and his son by Hagar.

* "Behold my covenant is with thee. Thou shalt be a father of many nations."—Genesis, xvii. 4.

† "Neither shall thy name any more be called Abram, but thy name shall be Abraham, for a father of many nations have I made thee."—Ib. 5.

‡ "And I will make thee exceeding fruitful ; and I will make nations of thee ; and kings shall come out of thee."—Gen. xvii. 6. This was also applied to his wife's maternal posterity : "I will bless her ; she shall become nations : kings of people shall be of her."—Ib. 16. This was verified in the line of Esau, as well as in that of Jacob.

formed of. With these, the Edomites, or Idumeans, we will begin our present inquiry.

Esau, surnamed Edom, or the Red Man, was at his birth of this colour,* and acquired so completely the appellation in his family,† that his descendants were named from it the Edomites, and are always spoken of under this denomination.‡

Both Esau and Jacob continued, like their parent, in the pastoral state; and, as the natives of Caffraria have been found to do, subsisted chiefly by their cattle. These were reared in great numbers, and constituted, with their sheep, their main property—a state of society suited to their habitual migrations.

But Esau found that the multiplication of these made it inconvenient for him and his brother to continue together, and that the pastures around them would not support the herds and flocks of both;§ therefore, leaving Jacob in the plains of Canaan, he moved southward towards Mount Seir.|| By the patriarchal movements, and easy settlements where they chose, it appears that all these regions of Palestine were as yet, in many parts, unpeopled. Where the Phenician and the other families of Canaan had not spread, the country was unoccupied. But Esau resolved on attaching himself to a fixed residence, and to found a lasting people. He chose the mountainous district of Seir for this purpose;¶ but here the Horims had stationed themselves, and resisted all intrusion.** A continued warfare ensued between them

* Gen. xxv. 25.

† It is first mentioned in his conversation with Jacob, on his return from hunting, wearied and desiring some favourite food; "therefore was his name called Edom."—Ib. 30.

‡ "Esau is Edom."—Gen. xxxvi. 8.

§ "For their riches were more than that they might dwell together; and the land wherein they were strangers could not bear them because of their cattle."—Ib. 7.

|| "And Esau took his wives, and his sons, and his daughters, and all the persons of his house, and his cattle, and all his beasts, and all his substances which he had got in the land of Canaan; and went into the country from the face of his brother Jacob."—Ib. 6. "Thus Esau dwelt in Mount Seir."—Ib. 8.

¶ "Esau settled in the land of Seir, the country of Edom."—Genesis, xxxii. 3.

** The Horims were descended from their ancestor, Hori.—Gen. xxxvi. 30. Seir was one of these, and gave his name to the mountain district. His children and their offspring are enumerated in Gen. xxxvi. 29—34. They spread to El-paran by the wilderness.—Gen. xiv. 8.

and the Edomite descendants of Esau, until at length the latter prevailed as their population increased, and destroyed or expelled their predecessors: and then all the country about Mount Seir came into their possession, and was copiously peopled, and permanently held by them.* The Edomites, to the last period of their history that is noticed in the Jewish Scriptures, were resident in this locality, and beyond it, for they at times enlarged their boundary, and at others had it curtailed, and were forced to move their settlements †

In the time of Moses they had multiplied so much, as to have many distinct chieftains; and they rose to that consequence and prosperity, as to have royalty and a kingdom, before their Hebrew kinsmen changed their polity into a monarchy.‡

The Deity is represented as taking this population from Esau under his special protection and influence. When the Israelites advanced from the desert towards the Canaanite frontier, he withheld the Edomites from hostilities against them,§ and commanded them not to molest these settled people, but to have friendly dealings with them.|| Moses

* Deut. ii. 12.

† Mount Seir, and the Edom territory, lay between Arabia Petrea and the Jewish Canaan, south of the Dead Sea. At first, the Edomites did not extend to the Arabian Gulf, but afterward reached it, and Elath and Eziongaber there are reckoned as places in their dominions. Josephus describes Idumæa as bordering on Egypt and Arabia, and as in part occupied by the Simeon tribe of the Jews.—Ant. i. v. c. 1. He calls one part "Great Idumæa."—Bibl. i. v. c. 7. He speaks of "Upper Idumæa," c. viii. It was extended into Arabia Petrea; and Petra became one of its chief cities, which, in Jerome's time, was called Gebalene; at Phenon, between Petra and Zoora, it had copper mines. Jerom and Eusebius. Teman was a principal city in it, fifteen miles from Petra, and had a Roman garrison.—Jerom in locis. Jerom mentions that the southern district of the Idumæans spread from Eleutheropolis to Petra, and Aila had inhabited caves. Josephus mentions the numerous caverns in the valley of Pharan.—Bell. J. i. v. c. 7. Bosra, Boser, Dedon, and Dumah, are also mentioned in Scripture among its towns.

‡ A great number of their chiefs are enumerated in Gen. xxxvi. and also their sovereigns: "These are the kings that reigned in the land of Edom, before there reigned any king over the children of Israel." xxxvi. 31.

§ "Ye are to pass through the coast of your brethren, the children of Esau, which dwell in Seir; and they shall be afraid of you. Take ye good heed of yourselves therefore."—Deut. ii. 4.

|| "Meddle not with them, for I will not give you of their land: I have given Mount Seir unto Esau for a possession. You shall buy meat of them for money, that ye may eat; and buy water of them for money, that ye may drink."—Deut. ii. 5, 6.

therefore led his nation in a large circuit round the territory of Edom, to avoid any inimical collision.*

When the Jewish people were completely settled in the conquered country of Canaan, they continued in peaceable relation with Edom : but David, when established in his royalty, made it a part of his kingdom, and spread garrisons over it ; † and his general Joab appears to have severely desolated its male population. ‡ But in the reign of Solomon, one of its princes found shelter and kindness, and a family alliance with the King of Egypt, till he deemed it safe to return to his own country. §

The division of the Hebrew nation into two kingdoms at variance with each other, enabled the Edomites to recover their prosperity and assert their independence.

They had future wars with the kings of Judah, || but they revolted from its sovereign, Jehoram, the son of Jehoshaphat, chose a king for themselves, fought an unsuccessful battle ; yet, persevering in the contest, established a permanent independence. ¶ This event became the completion of Isaac's prediction to his son Esau, when, on being superseded by Jacob's anticipation of his father's first paternal benediction, he uttered that pathetic expostulation and entreaty, " Hast thou but one blessing, my father ! Bless me, even me also, O my father ! " **

They had their national idols like their neighbours, which were adopted by the King of Judah, from whom they suffered a destructive defeat ; †† and they appear to have joined the Babylonians in their assault and capture of Jerusalem, in the plunder of the citizens in the pursuit, and in the demolition

* " The Israelites in the wilderness encompassed Mount Seir many days."—Deut. ii. 1.

† 2 Samuel, viii. 14.

‡ 1 Kings, xi. 16.

§ Pharaoh gave him the queen's sister for his wife, and educated his children with his own sons.—1 Kings, xi. 19-21.

|| 2 Kings, xiv. 7. 2 Chron. xx. 10 ; xxi. 9 ; xxv. 11.

¶ 2 Chron. xxi. 8-10. 2 Kings, viii. 20-2.

** His father's reply foretold the subjection of Esau's posterity to Jacob's, and their final emancipation. " By thy sword shalt thou live, and shalt serve thy brother ; and it shall come to pass, when thou shalt have the dominion, that thou shalt break his yoke from off thy neck."—Gen. xxvii. 38, 40.

†† 2 Chron. xxv. 11-14. 20. Josephus mentions one of these idols to have been the Koze, to which a priesthood was attached.—Ant. i. xv. c. 7.

of its walls and magnificent temple.* The overthrow of Edom was the subject of one of the prophecies of Jeremiah and of Obadiah.†

When the Jewish nation was restored from its captivity by the Persian monarchs, it was too weak and too dependant itself to annoy its neighbours; but when the Macedonian dynasties were established, and the celebrated Judas Maccabeus directed his patriotic zeal against the persecuting tyranny of Antiochus Epiphanes, he had also to resist an invasion of the Idumeans. He defeated them with a great overthrow,‡ and retaliated their incursion, and demolished their chief fortresses.§ Another of the Maccabee family subdued them again, and compelled them to adopt the Jewish rites and law.|| Their greatest distinction afterward was, that the celebrated Herod the Great sprang from them,¶ and, under the patronage of the Romans, established his new monarchy in Jerusalem. We hear of them again in the time of Vespasian, marching with 20,000 men to assist the Jews in their metropolis; then, on a quarrel with them, besieging, storming, and plundering it; and after putting to death several who had opposed them, returning to their own country, subsiding, under the Roman power, into provincial subordination and historical obscurity.** In Origen's time, they had ceased to be a distinct people.††

* Psalm cxxxvii. 1. Obadiah alludes also to the same circumstances. "In the day that thou stoodest on the other side, in the day that the strangers carried away captive his forces, and foreigners entered into his gates, and cast lots upon Jerusalem, even thou wast as one of them. But thou shouldest not have looked on the day of thy brother, in the day that he became a stranger; neither shouldest thou have rejoiced over the children of Judah in the day of their destruction. Thou shouldest not have entered into the gate of my people in the day of their calamity; nor have laid hands on their substance; nor have stood in the crossway to cut off those of his that did escape; nor have delivered up those that did remain in the day of his distress."—Obad. 11–14.

† Jer. xlix. 7–22. Obadiah, 21. Likewise Ezekiel, xxv. 12. Joel, iii. 19.

‡ 1 Maccabees, v. 3. Josephus, l. xii. c. 8.

§ 1 Maccab. v. 65.

|| Joseph. l. xiii. c. 9. But the Jews and Josephus would only consider them as half Jews.

¶ Joseph. ib.

** Joseph. Bell. Jud. l. iv. c. 4, 5.

†† He says, "The name and language of the Edomites have perished. They are now all called Arabs, and they speak the Syriac."—Origen in Job, l. iii.

The singular tradition among the Jews which has been connected with Edom is, that when the twelve tribes were destroyed by the Assyrians and Babylonians, the Edomites increased greatly in numbers and strength, extended their dominions towards the west, and spread their colonies far and wide. This was most probably the fact, and so far the Jewish rabbins may be right in their memorial history. But when they add, that the Romans were one of their colonies, and that a descendant of Esau founded the city on their Tiber, and that their final conqueror Titus was one of his posterity, by whom their nation and temple were subverted, we are startled by assertions which nothing else confirms; and wonder how such a notion became a part of the learned mind of the public teachers of the nation. This derivation has not only been the belief of eminent rabbins, but they add to it an expectation, that the full accomplishment of the final prophecies against Edom will yet be effected in the destruction of Rome and of the Christian state which has issued from it.*

The possibility I alluded to as to this branch of the Abrahamic line, is an idea that has occurred to me as a conjecture, which may or may not be founded, but which now cannot be substantiated by any proof; yet I think it worth your know-

* That Tyre was the "caput filiorum Esau," and that the Idumeans were Romans, is the assertion of Rabbi Solomon; and Bartolocci quoting this, adds, that it is the *sententia communis* among the Jews.—*Bibl. Rab.* l. p. 547.—Rabbi Solomon's gloss on Numbers, xxiv. 18, 19, says, "Edom, that is, Roma." So in Lament. iv. 22. The Targum, in some Venetian editions, to "He will visit thine iniquity, O daughter of Edom," adds, "impious Rome." Hence, R. Kimchi says, "Whatever the prophets mention of the destruction of Edom in the latter times, the Jews understand and explain of Rome."—Kimchi in Obadiah. He says, "Though we are dispersed and subjected to the Ishmaelite power (the Arabian Saracens), yet our principal captivity may be considered as under Edom (meaning the Roman Empire), because that has driven us away and laid waste our sanctuary."—They write that Titus Vespasian sprang from the lineage of Esau. Hence the Massech Gittin, c. 5, calls him "the descendant of Esau." And because Rome afterward became Christian, they now apply the term also to its Christian dominions. The tale or tradition in their *Gorion Chronicle* and other ancient books, is, that Tzephio, a grandson of Esau, contended with Jacob's sons about his burial till it came to warfare; that Tzephio was taken prisoner by Joseph, and kept in the dungeons of Egypt while the viceroy lived, but on his death escaped from that country and settled in Campania in Italy, and raised a kingdom there, and was the real first king of Rome.—Buxtorf's *Lex. Chald.* p. 20, 21.

ing, and not wholly disregarding. Esau was distinguished for the red colour of his skin, and as the name Edom was attached to his descendants, and to the country which they occupied, because it meant red, I think it probable that his colour, like that of the negro, was transmitted to his posterity, and that they were called Edomites and Idumeans, that is, red men, because they were externally of that appearance. Having reached the Arabian gulf, and occupying its naval stations, as at Eziongeber, they had the facilities of maritime colonization; and the Jewish tradition of them is, that they spread their colonies abroad.

Now I find that the Indians of North America are also characterized by the redness of their skins: a red copper colour is their general appearance, and it has been stated by some travellers that they have several customs which are peculiar to the Jewish population. This has caused some to speculate, that they may have descended from one of the expatriated and lost ten tribes. But connecting these similarities with their colour, it has seemed to me a greater probability, that they may have originated from a colony of the descendants of Esau. This will account for any likeness of custom with the Abrahamic family, and also for the peculiar tincture of their skin. Hence it is a possibility that the red men of America and the red men of Idumea may have had the same ancestral origin, and this family affinity. But I repeat, this is a mere transitory supposition, without any support either of history or of national tradition.*

The still greater nation which descended from Abraham, and immediately from himself, and which has continued from generation to generation ever since, is the ARABIAN people, of whom the most peculiar and important branch has originated from his son Ishmael. From him the tribe of the Koreish and Mohammed have descended.† The Koreish were the principal and noblest tribe of the whole nation, and had the

* Adair's *Travels in North America* mentions some of these Judaic resemblances.

† Sale gives the genealogy in his preliminary discourse to the *Koran*, p. 9. There was also another line of Arabs, who called themselves purer, who came from Kahtan. This Kahtan is also made by some a descendant from Ishmael; but others of the orientals suppose him to be the same as Jectan, the son of Eber, who was one of Abraham's ancestors. That Mohammed descended from Ishmael, is the statement of the Arabian writers.—*Poc. Spec.* 6.—Sale, *Prel. Disc.*

care of the sacred Caaba, which Ishmael and his father were believed to have erected.*

The divine attention is represented as having been attached to Ishmael from his infancy. Solemn promises were given to his father that his descendants should become a nation.† When Abraham, half despairing of any other child, petitioned that Ishmael might be the favoured object, this was not granted; but a special and splendid posterity was announced as meant to be produced from him.‡ The assurance that this grandeur would distinguish his descendants, was soon afterward repeated to his mother, when she was lamenting her extrusion from Abraham's household.§ Ishmael was therefore from his birth a specific object of divine providence, and grew up under its peculiar care; and that his family and posterity might become that species of the human character which they have ever since exhibited themselves to be, the wilderness was made his home, and in that he was purposely nurtured.|| This was so particularly planned and caused by the Great Director of human life, that when Abraham, with a father's feeling, declined to comply with his wife Sarah's wishes to "cast out the bondwoman and her son," he was directed by heaven to comply with the request; and the view of the future greatness of the boy's offspring was added, to induce and to console him for the pain of the separation.¶

* Sale, in Prel. Disc. 55. Koran, p. 503. Mohammed, in his Koran, represents Abraham and Ishmael as building the Caaba, or Holy House, at Mecca, by the command of the Deity.—Koran, c. ii. p. 16. "The Mohammedans are persuaded that the well Zemzem, on the east side of it, is the very spring which gushed out for the relief of Ishmael when his mother Hagar worshipped with him in the desert."—Sale, Prel. Disc. p. 118. "To this temple, every Mahometan who has health and means sufficient, ought, once at least in his life, to go on pilgrimage."—*Ib.*

† "And also of the son of the bondwoman I will make a nation, because he is thy seed."—Gen. xxi. 13.

‡ "And Abraham said, O! that Ishmael might live before thee! And God said, As for Ishmael, I have heard thee. Behold! I have blessed him; and will make him fruitful and will multiply him exceedingly. TWELVE PRINCES shall he beget; and I will make him a GREAT NATION."—Gen. xvii. 18. 20.

§ "Arise! lift up the lad, and hold him in thy hand, for I will make him a GREAT NATION."—Gen. xxi. 18.

|| "And God was with the lad; and he grew and dwelt in the wilderness and became an archer. And he dwelt in the wilderness of Paran; and his mother took him a wife out of the land of Egypt."—Gen. xxi. 20. 21.

¶ "And God said unto Abraham, Let it not be grievous in thy sight.

These repeated promises were fulfilled. Ishmael became a chief of consequence in that day, connected with Egypt by his own wife, and with the prospering Edomites by Esau marrying one of his daughters.* His own life was prolonged to an unusual period.† He had twelve sons, and their descendants soon had their towns, castles, and princes.‡

To these predictions of the future destiny of worldly greatness and duration which was thus appointed to distinguish the Arabian nation, another marking peculiarity was added, which as strongly indicates a specific design of divine providence in the formation of this remarkable people; and this was, that they should be a wild and fighting people, assailing all they came near, with retaliating hostility on themselves.§ 'This was declared to his mother before his birth, when the Deity ordered her to call him by the name of Ishmael, as a token that her Creator had heard her prayer.|| The promise of a very numerous posterity, more than usually abundant, was at the same time expressed to her, and that they should always keep the country they were nurtured in.¶ We know that all these predictions have been fulfilled, and that some of them are still accomplishing before our eyes. The Arabians spread largely in ancient times,** and always maintained

because of the lad, and because of the bondwoman. In all that Sarah has said unto thee, hearken unto her voice."—Gen. xxi. 12.

* Genesis, xxxvi. 3.

† "The years of the life of Ishmael, an hundred and thirty-seven years."—Gen. xxv. 17.

‡ His sons were "Nebajoth, Kedar, Adbeel, Mibsam, Mishma, Dumah, Massa, Hadar, Tema, Jetur, Naphish, and Kedemah. These are their names, by their towns and by their castles, twelve princes according to their nations. And they dwelt from Havilah unto Shur, that is before Egypt, as thou goest toward Assyria."—Gen. xxv. 13-15.

§ "And he will be a wild man. His hand will be against every man, and every man's hand against him; and he shall dwell in the presence of all his brethren."—Gen. xvi. 12.

|| "And the angel of the Lord said unto her, Behold, thou shalt bear a son, and shalt call his name ISHMAEL, because the Lord hath heard thy affliction."—Gen. xvi. 11. Ishmael means "God hears." Hagar, in a feeling corresponding with this condescending intimation, applied to the Deity a name which commemorated the individuality of his providence and omnipresence, הָרָא אֱלֹהִים, "Thou, O God! seest me." She also called the fountain of water at which it occurred, Beer-lahai-roi, or, "The well of Him that liveth and seeth me." Shortly afterward Ishmael was born.—Gen. xvi. 11-14.

¶ "And the angel of the Lord said unto her, I will multiply thy seed exceedingly, that it shall not be numbered for multitude."—Gen. xvi. 10.

** In ancient days, we learn from Juba, the African prince and histo-

or soon recovered their independence, not only against the Macedonian dynasty, but also against the Roman and the Parthian and Turkish powers. The Arabs still are free people, with all their ancient peculiarities.*

From the time of Mohammed to the period of the Turkish diffusion, they were among the greatest nations of the earth, and are still in conspicuous existence and activity; and their religion, Koran, and language, are the study, law, and literature of every Mohammedan nation in Europe, Asia, and Africa. We see their multitude at the present moment, for we find them in the north, and west, and east, and south of the African continent. They are in Egypt, Syria, on the Euphrates, in India, Persia, and Turkistan.† They have never lost their possession of Arabia, but still retain it unexpelled and unsubdued; and their Bedouin sheiks and tribes

rian, that the Arabs peopled part of Egypt, from Meroe to Syene, and built the city of the Sun. Pliny has thus preserved this remarkable but little-noticed fact: "Juba says that the city of the Sun, which we said was not far from Memphis in Egypt, has had the Arabs for its founders; and that the inhabitants of the Nile, from Syene up to Meroe, are not Ethiopian people, but ARABS."—Pliny, l. vi. c. 34. He says of this Juba, as noting his good authority, "In this part, it pleases us to follow the Roman arms and King Juba in his volumes written to Caius Cæsar, of the same Arabian expedition."—Pliny, l. vi. c. 21.

This important passage of Juba bears, I think, upon the history of Joseph, and explains why he married the daughter of a priest at Heliopolis, or On. Being an Arabian colony, it would not have then in it the base superstitions of Egypt, but would, at that period, retain enough of the Abrahamic or patriarchal religion to make a female there, more near his own faith and feelings than one of any other part of Egypt.

* "The Arabs of this region cannot be conquered by war, and never submit to servitude. They admit no foreign master, and always maintain their liberty. Hence neither the Assyrians formerly, nor the Persian nor Macedonian kings were able to subject them; although they moved great armies against them, yet they could never accomplish their purposes of conquest."—Diod. Sic. l. ii. p. 131.

† Ali Bey found them in Morocco.—Trav. vol. i. The French have fought with them about Algiers. Capt. Owen met them at the south-east extremity of Africa.—V. ii. p. 100, &c. Lander, in west Africa, and on the Niger, among the Falatshs and negroes.—V. ii. Slade, in Turkish Greece.—Trav. v. ii. p. 29. Major Mackworth, in the Egyptian Desert.—Diary, p. 351. They abound in Egypt, and form a great part of Mehemet Ali's armies. Our travellers find them in various parts of Syria and along the Euphrates. An officer of the Bengal infantry states of them, that they form a part of the troops of the native powers of India, and "have been always distinguished for bravery."—Un. Serv. 1833. Our troops have met them in the fortresses they stormed there, and found them the sturdiest defenders of Burhtpoor. Capt. Burges saw them in the regions on the Oxus.

are just as attacking, roving, wild, and plundering as even, and as promiscuously as the prophecy indicates.*

There is likewise a contrast between the two predictions of their being wild men, and yet a great nation, which seemed certain to make one of these events scarcely possible. Wild men cannot form a great nation. The two states are inconsistent with each other; and yet both have been literally realized. No nation, except the modern Christian kingdoms, have been more civilized than the Arabians of Granada and of the Caliphate, yet none are more uncivilized and uncontrollable than the untameable and unalterable Bedouins.†

The double accomplishment of the prediction has taken place, by the Arabian nation having been always in two states, a settled and an unsettled one. From the earliest times we may trace two grand classes of them; the one, natives and inhabitants of the desert regions, always pursuing a pastoral or predatory life, and usually intermingling both; and the other, preferring fixed residences, forming towns, living peaceably with each other and with their neighbours, and engaging in the occupations and the arts of life, and at times forming kingdoms and great nations.‡ The classi-

* All authors, from Niebuhr to Burckhardt, Ali Bey and more modern ones, concur, more or less, in the same description of them. "An Arab chief's virtue is hospitality.—but limited to three days and eight hours. After that time, a stranger's presence would be displeasing. Robbery is not less matter of honour with an Arab. The Bedouins, or Wandering Arabs, are a nation of robbers. They make a separate race, and from the most remote times appear to have existed in the same manner as now. They rob both friends and enemies. All their thoughts are directed to pillage. The title of robber is most flattering to a young hero. The greatest reputation is obtained by depredations on Turks and Europeans. The Bedouins are always at war with each other; but when a Bedouin has given his *dakheil*, or sacred pledge of protection, it not only secures the person against his own attacks, but also guarantees his life and property against every other."—Burckhardt says that "it is among the most fierce tribes, and who give themselves most up to robbery, that the sentiment of honour is most strong and the protection most effectual." Yet "this wild people cultivate poetry and oratory very much, though they can rarely either write or read."—Ferussac, *Bibl. Univ.* 1831, p. 85-93.

† They were such in the days of Strabo: "The parts of Mesopotamia verging to the south, the Skenite Arabs (Bedouins) inhabit; men given to plunder, yet leading a pastoral life, *ἀγρίοι καὶ ποιμνικοί*, and who easily wander into other places when plunder and pasture fail them."—*Strabo*, l. xvi. p. 1084.

‡ "There is another general division of the Arabs more known; those who live in cities, and those who are always in the country and

cal writers remarked this difference, and distinguished the first by the appellation of the Skenite Arabs, or those who lived in tents. These are frequently thus mentioned by both Strabo and Pliny.*

But yet the wild vein of character never left even the most civilized of their race. Under the caliphate in Syria, they were always bursting out in civil factions and destructive wars with each other; and in Spain this discordant and battling humour was so inveterate, that it at last produced their overthrow, much more than the valiant warfare of the Spanish Christians. It was this evil which was always weakening their own powers of resistance; which precluded all lasting defensive union, and which repeatedly gave victory and conquest to their brave and persevering assailants.† But yet, with all their love of roving and of subsisting by depredation, they are a romantic and interesting people, with many qualities that promise much future distinction and greatness.‡

live in the deserts in their tents. These last are named Bedoui and Arabi. We call them Bedouins; and they surpass the others in worth and subtlety of mind. Yet all the Arabians are ingenious, bold, generous, loving eloquence and poetry to excess; but they are also revengeful and sanguinary."—D'Herbelot, *Bibl. Orient.* p. 120.

* Strabo, p. 1084, 1086. "The Nomades and infestatores of the Chaldeans are repressed by the Skenite Arabs, who are themselves wanderers where they like. They are named from their habitations, which are made of hair-cloths (goat's hair)."—Pliny, l. vi. c. 32. Diod. Siculus also describes the Nomades Arabs who lead a Skenite life, or live in tents with their flocks.—L. ii. p. 136.

† Of those now serving in the armies of the Indian princes, the Bengal officer, after praising their bravery, adds, "But no attempts to bring them under the restraints of discipline have ever yet been successful. They are a proud, wild people, invincibly attached to a roving, unsettled, and predatory life."—Unit. Serv. Journ. 1883, p. 88. It was an ancient Arab proverb that God had bestowed on their nation four precious gifts. He had given them turbans, instead of diadems; tents, instead of walls and bulwarks; swords, instead of intrenchments; and poems, instead of written laws.

‡ Mr. Benjamin D'Israeli has thus picturesquely described a Bedouin encampment at night, which he visited: "The moon was shining brightly. I went out to view the camp. The tall camels were crouching on their knees in groups, in the process of rumination. A crowd was assembled round a fire, before which a poet was reciting impassioned verses. I observed the slight forms of the men; short, meager, agile, dry, and dark, with teeth dazzling white, and quick, black, glancing eyes. They were dressed in cloaks of coarse black cloth, apparently of the same stuff as their tents. Few of them exceed five feet three inches. The women mingled with the men, though a few concealed their faces on my approach. They were deeply interested by the poetic recital."—*Contarini Fern.* v. iv. p. 168.

Though addicted to roaming and robbing habits of life, they are clearly not a savage people, but have an uncivilized civilization of their own kind, unlike that of a civic and settled life, yet as much removed from that of the more rude and ignorant barbarian.*

When we contemplate the circumstances of Ishmael's birth, the special prophecies attached to his race, and the fulfilment of these in the splendid history which has been attached to this energetic and singular people, we cannot avoid the inference that they have been fostered and upheld by the divine protection, and specifically led into that duration of life and character which they have steadily and successively displayed. For as the Deity was under no necessity to cause Ishmael to have any other than a common family, with its usual incidents and vicissitudes, it was manifestly his special choice to distinguish and preserve them as he has done; and it announces that specific plans and intentions were formed by him, even before they originated, concerning them, when we find that predictions of what they should be and have been, were uttered by the divine will anterior to their ancestor's birth.†

They are the only nation in the world, except the Jews, who have been continuously existing, with unbroken genealogy, from the days of Abraham to our own; and these two only, of all that are now existing, have had their native com-

* Mr. B. D'Israeli has also given this interesting sketch from his personal observation: "The Arabs are gay, witty, vivacious, and very susceptible and acute. It is difficult to render them miserable. Every night, as they row along the moon-lit river, the boatmen join in a melodious chorus. Shouts of merriment burst from each illumined village. Everywhere are heard the sounds of laughter and of music; and wherever you stop you are saluted by the dancing girls, gayly and even richly dressed in bright colours. The Arab women are very delicately moulded; twinkling feet and small hands; their complexions clear and not dark; their features beautifully formed and sharply defined; their eyes, liquid with feeling, and bright with intelligence."—Cont. *Flem.* v. iv. p. 195.

To this we may add, "A tent, covered with goats' skins, in two divisions, one for the women, and one for the men, is their usual habitation. A robe of cotton, or if cold, a cloth cloak, is their wardrobe. Flour boiled, or in paste, on which is poured milk or butter, is their food."—Ferussac, *Bib. Univ.* 1831, p. 93.

† Mr. Forster's "Mahometanism Unveiled" contains many facts and observations on the two branches of Abraham's posterity, the legitimate and the spurious races, in those of Isaac and Ishmael, which will interest the curious reader.

mencement accompanied with magnificent prophecies of their multitudinous posterity. Both Jews and Arabs have therefore been special objects of divine care and conservation. It may be thought by some that the rise of Mohammed and the prevalence of his religious system are in opposition to this supposition. But it cannot be so; for no one who thinks calmly and intelligently on the subject, can imagine that such a mighty event as the establishment, and diffusion, and continuance of the Islam faith, can have occurred without the knowledge and permission of the divine Ruler of us all. Whatever may be our adverse conceptions, we may be sure that Mohammedanism has powerfully concurred in the promotion of his plans and purposes, or it never would have spread and subsisted as it has done. All that we can discern of his economy of human affairs, assures us that it has, in some respects or other, been a benefit to human nature—a benefit, at least, by preventing or extinguishing what was or what would have been worse; and that mankind have derived advantages from it which they would not have enjoyed if it had not appeared, or if it had been suppressed, instead of having been suffered to prevail for its allotted and now expiring time.*

* That modern Europe owes the preservation, improvement, and revival of the sciences, and of intellectual studies, almost wholly to the Arabs, is felt by most. And the facts stated in my *History of the Middle Ages*, vol. 4, p. 340-443, may incline you to think so. A few remarks on the useful results that occurred from Mohammedanism were there stated. To these you may add the following observations:

Mohammed was an instrument to rescue the Ishmael race from the most superstitious polytheism and idolatry. When he was a young man, his family and countrymen were worshipping idols so enthusiastically, that they had one for every day in the year.—Sale, p. 20. His tribe, the Koreish, the direct and acknowledged descendants from Ishmael, were devoted to these, and the patrons of the system, by being the masters and guardians of the Caaba and Mecca. Now Mohammed extinguished for ever idolatry and polytheism in all the race of Ishmael, and throughout Arabia. Though he did not teach Christianity, he clearly brought back this branch of Abraham's family to that state of theism and purer religion, in which Ishmael himself had been brought up. In all but the addition of himself, missioned as a prophet, he has made them much of what Ishmael was, and revived many of the ancient truths as to the Deity which Abraham had taught his son. Wherever Mohammedanism has spread, it has always acted to the same end. It has always been the uncompromising antagonist of polytheism and idolatry, and has invariably driven these out of the world wherever it has predominated. This seems to have been its greatest office. Where Christianity would not have been received, or would not have lasted,

The Arab character is obviously an improvable one, for though not a lettered nation, it is yet an intellectual one; and it keeps alive its intellectual improbabilities, by its singular passion for tales, oratory, and poetry. These are learned from each other by their vocal and visual displays. They are exhibited by voice and gesture, and are learned by the eye and ear. Each reciter and speaker is a living book to his countrymen; and all who hear, study while they gaze at him, remember what he expresses, think of it, emulate what they have seen, and try to gain the personal distinction from their fellows which is so dear to the human heart, by imitating themselves what they admire in others. It is true that as yet no mental progress arises from these exertions. Their poetry is, like much of our own, merely excitement, without any intellectual utility. It rouses passions, not thinking; and its emotions have no moral connexions, and produce no mental advancement. It is the fault of most poets in every country, that they aim at no more; and hence it is that so few survive, because few will discern that no poetry can live, in an ever-improving world, that is not deeply associated with moral or intellectual utility. But still as long as any nation cultivates and exercises its imagination in actual composition, it preserves its intellectual sensibilities in vigour and freshness, and ready to be improved into what is noble, grand, beautiful, elevating, and beneficial, as soon as the agencies that are adapted to give its active spirit this direction, and the means of so employing it, can be made to occur to it. The Arabs are in this state, and will again be, in due time, as they once have been, a highly intellectual population.*

* Mohammedanism has been allowed to prevail instead, because its Unitheism, its spirit of devotion, and the chief moral principles which the Koran enjoins, are everywhere superior to the paganism which it has overthrown. It has also precluded or suppressed the most bestializing of the human vices, that of drunkenness, and it has done this by Mohammed making it a principle of his religious system that no intoxicating liquor should be used by its professors. It has its vices, but it performs these utilities.

* The author of *Don Roderic*, *Kehama*, and *Thalaba*, to which I must add *Madoc*, from the pleasure I enjoyed in reading it; whom time will not willingly allow to die, has truly sung in his lines on *Bilderwic*, the amiable Dutch bard—

“Best poet! who delights the happy mind
Of childhood; stores with moral strength the heart

The remarkable continuation and diffusion of this Arab race, which has been as carefully preserved as the Jewish one, indicate to us that Providence has yet some important designs to execute with it, and upon it. Already its operations have begun, and the first direction of these seems to be, to divest it of all that is imposture in its Mohammedanism. The Wahabees have in our own times been raised up and actuated for this purpose. They have sprung up in the very bosom of Arabia, like its deluding and self-deluded prophet, to shake his dominion, and to begin the emancipation of the Ishmael mind from it.* The chief prince, or Grand Sheik of the Bedouin tribes, adopted the reform and established it by force in Arabia.† His third successor, Saoud, took Mecca, and demolished all that concerned

Of youth ; with wisdom maketh mid life rich,
And fills with quiet tears the eyes of age."

I feel that the Laureate's varied works accomplish what he thus wishes others to aim at.

* Badia Ali Bey, who was himself at Mecca, in February, 1807, gives the best account of this reforming sect. Its author, the Sheik Abdoulwehhab, was born about 1720, near Medina ; studied there, and resolved to reduce the Arab worship to its primitive simplicity. He applied himself to the "BEDOUIN ARABS, who, being indifferent about the worship, and too little enlightened to support or defend its particular rites, offered him more facilities to promulgate his system among them."—Ali Bey, ii. p. 129. In 1747 he made a proselyte of Ibn Saoud, the Grand Sheik of the Arabs, and they began their hostile operations. Their followers "have destroyed the sepulchres, chapels, and temples elevated to the honour of the Mohammedan saints—he forbids veneration or devotion to the person of the prophet as a very great sin. This does not prevent him from acknowledging his mission ; but he taught that he was no more than another man before God made use of him, and that when his mission was at an end, he became an ordinary mortal."—Ib. 131.

He has forbidden them to visit the tomb of the prophet at Medina, and instead of saying, like other Mussulmen, "Our Lord Mouhammed, or our Lord the prophet of God," they only say, "Mouhammed."—Ib. They forbid pilgrimages to Mecca.

Abdoulwehhab never offered himself as a prophet, but only as a reformer.—Ib. 133. They have adopted the following profession of faith :

"There is no other God than God alone. There are no companions near him. To him belongs dominion : to him belong praises, and life, and death ; and he is Lord over all."—Ib. 132.

† "The reform, being admitted by Ibn Saoud, was embraced by all the tribes subject to his command. They attacked the neighbouring ones, who were successively reduced to the alternative of embracing the reform or perishing. On his death, his successor, Abdelaziz, continued it, became master of the interior of Arabia, and in 1801, invaded Bagdad, pillaged the city, and destroyed its Islam temple."—Ali Bey, &c. p. 134.

the prophet there,* and in 1807 became the anti-Mahomet sovereign of Arabia.†

Since this period, Mehemet Ali, the reigning pacha of Egypt, has taken up the cause of Islamism against Saoud and his tribes. His son, Ibrahim Pacha, recovered Mecca and re-established the pilgrimage, and Saoud has been defeated and slain. It is one of the designs of Mehemet to be the conqueror of Arabia, and to add that to his Egyptian dominion. As yet, like all that have preceded him in such attempts, he has only gained temporary victories and local acquisitions; and now, the Syrian insurrection is occupying his forces.‡ But these military reverses do not check or prevent the intellectual change in this interesting peninsula. On the contrary, this is now extending to the Mohammedan mind of both Turkey and Egypt. The sultan has been led by events to destroy the fiercest upholders of Islamism in his extirpation of the Janizzaries. Both he and his rival, Mehemet Ali, are adopting European ideas, and institutions, and customs; causing several young men to be educated in France and England, to be employed afterward in the civil and military offices of the country; and both are encouraging Christian intercourse and visitors.§

* In 1802, Saoud, the son of Abdelaziz, took Mecca, and had "all the mosques and chapels consecrated to the prophet razed to the ground, and all the sepulchres of the saints and heroes held in veneration there."—Ali Bey, ii. p. 125.

† "The events I have related passed under my own eyes, and the result is, that Saoud finds himself at this moment (Feb. 1807) absolute master of all the Arabias, except Mokha and some other towns in Yemen or Arabia Felix, and is extending his dominion in the intermediary desert between Damascus, Bagdad, and Bassora."—Ib. 136.

‡ In the course of 1833, by his son Ibrahim's successes, he became master of Yemen, the chief province of Arabia Felix. A revolt took place, at the end of the year, in the Hedjaz, on the frontier of Yemen. In the beginning of 1834, he sent an army of 18,000 men to put down the insurrection, but this force was defeated, and 2000 Turkish Caudits went over to the Arabs. The last accounts of the German papers were, that in the spring, he was making fresh preparations for the conquest of Arabia; but since then, the Syrian defection has occupied all his best troops and most disposable army. The last accounts from Arabia, this November, 1834, are, that Ali Ben Mogital, the Arab chief of the Assaers, has taken Mocha from Mehemet Ali. This Bedouin tribe consists of nearly 300,000 persons, of whom 30,000 are fighting men. An Egyptian army is collecting at Judda to oppose him, and to recover the recaptured coast of Yemen.

§ In Mehemet Ali's dock-yard, at Alexandria, the master builder and his assistant were Frenchmen, where they launched a 140 gun ship of

The consequences are, already, that the belief in Mohammed is declining both at Constantinople and in Egypt, in the better classes of society; and the same mutation is taking place in Persia.* Thus the mental abolition of all that is false and imposture in the Islam system is visibly taking place. From these facts I cannot but infer that the Arab mind is moulding into the primitive Ishmael state of pure theism; that the Egyptian and Persian aristocracies or upper-classes are undergoing a similar transition, and that the general Mussulman world will in time imitate their example.† Beyond this I cannot at present penetrate.

What farther direction will be given, is as yet undiscernible; but the downfall of Mohammed as a divine teacher is certain and unavoidable. Nothing can restore his influence where it has once declined, because it has no reality in its favour. On the contrary, the actual truth is against it, and

the line. He put his commercial and foreign affairs under an Armenian of Smyrna. His own long barge was built at Deal, in Kent. He employed an English engineer to improve the canals, and two Englishmen, under Mr. Briggs, in boring for water in the desert. European instructors were teaching the Arab musicians our notes of music, and to play the popular airs of England, France, and Germany, on European instruments. He has established a military hospital and a naval school, and also a school of medicine and anatomy, where botany, mineralogy, and chymistry are taught. He has established schools for all classes, and a public assembly to meet on national business forty days in each year. He has also set up a weekly newspaper, in Arabic and Turkish, and protects all Christian merchants settled in the country.—Sir A. Johnston's Report to Asiat. Soc. 1833. Another fact is curious. In January, 1834, a young Swiss artist went to Cairo to preach the French St. Simonian doctrines. To counteract this attempt, "In the *Moniteur Egyptien* (the pacha's newspaper,) the *Gospel* was recommended as the best means of civilizing mankind, in opposition to the apostles of St. Simon."—Miss. Reg. 1834, p. 313.

* I have observed these facts stated in the accounts of several recent travellers and missionaries in these countries. The feeling extends even into Libya and Ethiopia, for one gentleman says, "I observed that many of the Berberas and Nubians who came to Egypt, and who serve there as servants, especially at Cairo and Alexandria, are skeptics, and careless as to their religion. I heard some say, They cared very little about Mohammed and his religion. They had been forced to it by the cimeter."

† As an instance of this desire to substitute theism for Islamism, the following may be quoted: "The Persians are very much inclined to conversation, and no subject is so commonly introduced by them in company with foreigners as that of religion. I believe that a large majority of the educated Persians have little or no confidence in the claims of Mohammed. They will dispute with Christians for the sake of disputation, and then proceed to canvass the arguments derived from nature and reason of *his being and character of God*."—Miss. Reg. 1832, p. 395.

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the divine agency will be now in operation to accelerate its obliteration, as fast as what is better can be established in its stead. But until this can be effected, we cannot expect that what is objectionable will be overthrown. The bad is never removed while what is worse would succeed ; nor until something better can take its place.

The present positions and activities of the Nomadic or Bedouin Arab population are remarkable.

They skirt the north coast of Africa, from Morocco to Algiers. They are about Tunis, and scattered along the Lybian territory up to Egypt. They abound in Lower Egypt, and appear also in its upper provinces. They roam over the deserts between the mountain boundaries of the Nile and the Red Sea. They spread down from Abyssinia to Mozambique and the Straits of Babelmandel. They appear in the plains and chief cities of the southeastern coasts of Africa, until the Caffraria and Zooly tribes begin. They are in Madagascar. They are visitors for trade, or settled residents, in the towns on the Niger, and on the other rivers and towns of West Africa, nor are they absent from Morocco. How far they have penetrated into inland Africa, we as yet do not know ; but from this sketch you see that they are everywhere on the seacoast of this continent, in almost all parts of its vast circuit.*

Their martial activities are now also in a singular state. They are at present engaged in imbodyed troops fighting for other powers. We find them in the service of the native powers of India as already mentioned. They were the most faithful and formidable defenders of Burhtpoor, in that peninsula, when the English, in 1833, attacked and stormed it. They are becoming the chief people in the Turkish navy, now the Greeks cease to be so. They were regimented in the Egyptian army in large numbers when Ibrahim Pacha invaded Asia Minor. They continue to be a portion of his active force in Syria, after this province had been ceded to his father Mehemet Ali, by the Turkish

* It would take up too much room to quote my authorities for all the circumstances in this and the next paragraph, but they are now upon my table before me. There are some Mohannmedans, even in China, who, with the Koran, have the Arabian language there. M. Gutzlaff says of one at Amoy, who was a Mandarin, "Some Arabic sentences were familiar to him ; but the Chinese organs of speech can scarcely pronounce the Arabic well."—Gutzl. Journ. p. 225.

sultan, although others of their Nomadic race in that country are joining in the revolt and warfare against him, as his most troublesome and endangering enemies. This remarkable contest began in the spring of 1834. The Arabian tribes in Syria, roused by the pacha's enforcing a regular taxation, and more especially forcing their youth into his armies by a conscription, suddenly combined and took Jerusalem by storm.* This city was retaken from them in the beginning of summer by Ibrahim,† but the contest con-

* A gentleman, who wrote from Jerusalem on 16th July, 1834, thus describes these events. After mentioning that on his arriving at that city he had been kindly treated by Ibrahim Pacha, he adds: "As I made continual excursions among the Arabs, and they conversed with me without reserve, I discovered that they were very discontented with the Pacha's government, particularly with his taking their young men for soldiers. They informed me that a widely-extended conspiracy was on the point of breaking forth into rebellion, and that I should do well to quit Palestine. I accordingly made preparations for my departure; but in spite of all my diligence, I was too late. No sooner did the Pacha part for Jaffa, than the revolution commenced. The garrisons of Herek and Solth were cut to pieces; and the Arabs from Samaria and Hebron marched on Jerusalem. The Pacha had left only 600 men in Jerusalem, and the assailants were more than 40,000. As, however, the walls were furnished with a few cannon, and the Arabs were armed with nothing but lances and muskets, we could have held for ever, had not the Arabs discovered a subterranean passage. They entered at midnight, and the soldiers, after a gallant defence, were obliged to retire to the castle.

"All the Christians fled to the different convents, and thus saved their lives. For five days the city was given up to plunder; and never did I witness such a heart-rending spectacle. The Jews, who had no place of safety to which they could retire, suffered very much. Their houses were so pillaged, that they had not a bed to lie on; many were murdered, and their wives and daughters violated. Barbarities were committed too shocking to relate. From the hope of being well paid, or some other motive, these savages spared the convents.

"To add to our miseries, an EARTHQUAKE, one of the strongest ever felt in Palestine, destroyed several houses, and threw down that part of the city wall which passes by the mosque of the temple. In Bethlehem the convent was rendered uninhabitable, and many inhabitants were buried in the ruins of their houses. For more than ten days, successive earthquakes continued to shake the city, but none were so strong as the first."—*Plymouth Herald*, November, 1834.

† On 5th June, 1834, Ibrahim marched with his troops from Jaffa, to the aid of his besieged garrison in Jerusalem. "The Pacha, hearing our situation, hastened from Jaffa, with 5000 men. There are only twelve hours' march from Jaffa to Jerusalem, and the Pacha was three days and a half before he could relieve us. More than 30,000 Arab peasants had occupied the passes of the mountains; and as the soldiers wound their way through the narrow ravines beneath, the rebels took murderous aim at them from behind the rocks, and sometimes rolled down on their heads enormous masses of stone; thus, crushing their enemies, and rendering

tinued through the autumn, and in November, 1834, these asserters of their independence are still unsubdued.*

Besides Isaac and Ishmael, there were six other children born to Abraham by his last wife Keturah, whom he settled in the eastern countries. There was of course a posterity from these, because the sons of three are mentioned by name. But as nothing is stated of their descendants, except as to one, I will not substitute conjecture in the place of historical fact. This one was MIDIAN. The Midianites are frequently noticed in the Mosaic Pentateuch, and are allowed to have been the descendants of this son of Abraham. They have been called an Arabian people,† because after the Augustan age, the name of Arabia was extended to these regions, as it has been to Idumea; but they are distinguished from the Arabs in Scripture.‡ Their country was part of the Arabian desert,§ and a memorial of their name still remains on the Red Sea.|| Moses married the

the path impassable to cavalry and artillery. The activity and courage, however, of Ibrahim Pacha, overcame every opposition: and he at length entered Jerusalem in triumph. As the Pacha is still waging a bloody war with the Arabs, it is impossible to quit the city. If I quit Jerusalem at present, there is not the least doubt of my being killed by the Arabs."—Letter of 16th July, 1834, in the Plymouth Herald.

* The Austrian Observer has thus mentioned these conflicts: "Ibrahim reached Jerusalem by the way of Bethlehem; but the BEDOUINS of the environs surrounded the city; while others, in numerous detachments, scoured the plain, and plundered and laid waste the whole country between Mount Carmel and Gaza. A regiment which had hastened from Damascus was attacked in Nazareth, and overpowered in the plains of Esdrelon, before it could reach the mountains of Samaria. The loss of the Egyptians in these several actions was estimated at 6000 men. Lebanon was tranquil, but several ARAB tribes beyond the Jordan had joined those of Samaria. The number of men under arms is stated to be 20,000."—Austrian Observer, 24th August, 1834. The Ottoman Moniteur of the 11th October, 1834, states, that so far from the hostilities being ended, "these events have become of such a serious character as to require the Egyptian Pacha to leave his dominions and proceed in person to Jaffa."—These are the latest notices I have seen of this warfare.

† Philo calls them "a most populous nation of Arabs, whose ancient name was Madienai."—De Fortit. 741. So Stephanus in Ethniciæ, "Madien et Madiunitæ, populus Arabiæ." Midian was not far from Mount Sinai.

‡ H. Reland's Palestina, v. i. p. 98.

§ Jerom says, "Madian and Ephra are regions beyond Arabia, fertile of camels, and all the province is called Saba."—Comm. Is. 60. "It is undoubted that the Midianites and all that wilderness were adjacent to the Arabian country."—Ib. Ezek. 25.

// There is a town still called Midjan on the Arabian Gulf, where Ptolemy placed Modianam. Josephus mentions it, "The city of Madian on the Red Sea."—Ant. l. ii. c. 5; l. iv. c. 7.

daughter of the chief of Midian,* and this state became so powerful, as to reduce the Israelites to that subjection from which Gideon delivered them.†

LETTER XXVII.

Cursory Outline of the Formation, Increase, and Decline of the Jewish Nation—And Views on the Divine Purposes and Attained Ends in its several Stages.

MY DEAR SYDNEY,

WE now approach, more particularly, the most deeply-interesting subject which has occurred in the history of mankind, and with which their sacred history has been vitally connected.

Intellectually interesting, from the grand and pathetic compositions which are attached to it, and which, on their peculiar subjects, no other ancient literature in any of the past nations of the world either equalled or resembled, it is also that to which our personal wellbeing—probably the everlasting continuity of our existence—is inseparably attached; I mean the formation of the Jewish nation, and that gradually-developed, but most momentous train of operations and results which were appended to it, and have issued from it; which have been destined to be still flowing, with increasing importance, on the human race, and which will never cease to be evolving either to all, or to selected portions of them, till time itself shall expire, if time ever can have a terminating period.

This, however, will never be. Time cannot end. It is associated with eternity, and will differ from that, only in being that continued succession of the periods, into which the intelligent beings of every orb, for their convenience, distinguish it, of which eternity is really composed.

Time in this world, is but that portion of the never-begin-

* Exodus.

† Judges, vi. "Because of the Midianites, the children of Israel made them the dens which are in the mountains, and caves, and strong holds."—*Ib.* 2.

ning and never-closing eternity, which has elapsed since human beings became conscious of life and duration ; and which they have divided into succeeding periods and chronological sections, and annual, monthly, daily, and even minuter subdivisions, for their own use and arrangements.

Time is not therefore confined to this world. It is universal eternity. It encircles and comprehends the whole infinitude of being, at the same time that we are here marking and parcelling it out, with our peculiar notations, for our own benefit.

We should not forget this, although we are always doing so. We rarely think of this world and of ourselves, but as living members of our globe only. We scarcely ever advert to our larger position and grander relations. Our feet, station, and body, are on this earth, and we are at all times immediately concerned with the objects that are at each moment affecting our present senses. But just as the street, or house, or field, in which we at any time are standing or moving, is part of a great country, and that a portion of a greater earth, so our globe itself is, in like manner, a similar compartment of a most numerous and most mighty universe, of which we are thereby also an integrant member, and with which we are in actual copartnership. Our earth, like our house, is but our present local and temporary station. We shall soon move from the one, as we are every day moving from the other. Our real country is the universe ; and we pass from this spot of it but to go into some other region of its vast extension ; into other latitudes and longitudes of its grand celestial hemisphere. Our geographical parallels and meridians are but those of the heavenly ubiquity, applied locally to our surface. But this partial application is but an application to ourselves of the great realities which are marking all space, and embracing all being. As soon as death ends our concern with our earthly soil, our more important relations will then begin with other portions of the celestial chorography. We shall then be in other stations of its longitudes and latitudes. We belong to them, wherever they may prove to be, as certainly, and we shall find as sensorially, as we do now to our present homes and families. We have all two places of abode, of *which we cannot divest ourselves ; one on this side of our grave,—and one through that, beyond it. This we cannot*

at present see, as they who live in England cannot see China or the Polar Sea; but these distant objects exist as assuredly as London and its island. So is our next home as certainly subsisting somewhere, and awaiting us, although it is now as invisible to us as the regions and inhabitants of the moon still continue to be.

It is the absolute certitude that we are living members of a great universe—that we belong to other worlds, as well as to our own—that we are here but in an assigned station, and only for a limited time—present citizens here, to be future citizens elsewhere—that we shall be moved from our globe, in which we have been born, to some other compartment of created space—and that we are at all times subjects of the one, sole, and all-ruling Sovereign, whose choice and appointment will decide our future locality, as he has here, for the time being, fixed our present one, which makes all revelations from him so inexpressibly momentous and dear to us; and which gives such an indissoluble interest and consequence to his Jewish and Christian revelations, as the only ones which have any likelihood of being communications from him. If these are not such, we have none. No intelligent man who compares them with any others, either written or traditional, that have ever pretended to be so, can, on a fair intellectual comparison, have any doubt on this point.

I have done so; and I feel it impossible, without renouncing knowledge, science, and judgment, to deem any thing to be a record and representation of the divine revelations to us, if the Jewish and Christian Scriptures be not so. Hence it is, that the causes, principles, and meaning of the formation and course of the Jewish nation become so important to us, and will be so to all who love to believe, on rational grounds, what they are disposed or commanded to do, on the impulses of feeling, faith, or duty.

This subject becomes also most profoundly connected with our welfare, because we are members of an eternity as to time, as well as of a universe as to space. While we live, we are joint tenants with all the myriads of intelligent existences of the present moments which we are enjoying, and of the eternity of which these are but our fluent conscious portions.

We cannot withdraw ourselves from this relation. An

eternity is attached to our mental being, as certainly as matter is to our bodily frame. This also is not at our command. It is our granted and appointed nature. Immortality has been ordained to be as inseparable from us, as feeling and consciousness.

This is of inexpressible importance to us ; for, with life and its immortality, sensibility will always be in unseparating union : so will all the joys or sorrows which will accompany that quality of our most sensitive spirit. But the sensibility of our immaterial principle is so exquisite, that no theme of thought, and no object of pursuit, ought to be more steadily pursued by us, while we are in this beginning period of our experience, than the study, how we can now avert every painful condition from it in the next stage of its being, which lies beyond the grave ; and how we may, by our present wisdom and care, secure to it there that succession of comfort and felicity, which it needs as well as ardently desires. For, as its more ethereal state must be even more sensitive than its present one, if it be not then happy in proportion to its augmented faculties of thought and feeling, how miserable must not every other condition be to it ! These considerations give to the Jewish history a value and an importance, which can never be over-rated ; for it was in this that the divine revelations were begun, and their first portions successively made, which explain the real position and relation between man and God. Hence also originated that second grand compartment of divine light and truth, and beatifying promise, by which every one becomes enabled to make the immortality of his sentient principle an eternity of all that will most ennoble a reasoning being, and most enrapture an intellectual sensibility.* We have been

* Dr. Young has strongly and finely expressed the importance of our deathless nature.

"Immortal ! Ages past, yet nothing gone !
Morn without eve ! a race without a goal !
Futurity for ever future ! Life
Beginning still, where computation ends !
O what a patrimony this ! a being
Of such inherent strength and majesty !
'Tis the description of a Deity !
'Tis the description of the meanest slave.
Inferior ! all immortal. Brothers all.
Proprietors eternal of Thy love !"

Night 6th.

created to be in this alternative. We cannot shake it from us. It has been made the law and principle of our being. Our hereafter must be happy, or it will be wretched. We must now choose between these possibilities, and act in due conformity to our choice, or we cannot prevent what we may most dislike. We can, by a rash and criminal act, hurry ourselves into the probability of the evil termination; but with that step all our command over our own vitality ceases. We can transfer ourselves from this world to the next, but we cannot there establish ourselves as we please. We have not, anywhere, the power of self-annihilation. Immortality has been made the character of our being.* The only mode of causing the futurity into which we must pass to be a benediction to us, is that which has been disclosed to us by divine revelations; and the Deity has been pleased to make his intercourse with the Jewish nation the medium and course of things, through which his will, desires, and intentions should be communicated to us.

I have invited your attention to the subject of the present letter by these observations, because I wish you to consider the Jewish history as having this personal relation to ourselves; and likewise to see it in some points of view, and with impressions which, though probably felt by many, have yet not been explicitly noticed or illustrated.

That this people were used to retain the knowledge of the one spiritual Deity, in opposition to the polytheism and idolatry of the world; that they compiled and preserved the scriptural records of the divine revelations to them; that their sacred writings contain the predictions as to ancient nations, as to the Messiah, as to their own present and ulterior condition, and as to the last destinies of the world; and that our Saviour, in his human frame, descended from them, and made their country the scene of his actions, and tuition, and death, you are fully aware. These were all very great objects, which have been fully accomplished. But

* "Immortal! Were but one immortal, how
Would others envy! How would thrones adore!
Because 'tis common, is the blessing lost?
'Tis immortality; 'tis that alone
Amid life's pains, abasements, emptiness,
The soul can comfort, elevate, and fill.
To that stupendous view when souls awake,
Time's toys subside; and equal, all below." Night 6th.

there is also another grand purpose for which this nation was raised up, and which also has been most efficiently fulfilled. This was that the Deity might, in his various transactions with them at the successive periods of their history, make those exhibitions and annunciations of himself—of his mind and feelings; his wishes and precepts; his personal character, and intended conduct of his moral government; of his creation, command, and direction of nature, and of his superintending providence and individual care, which the Jewish and Christian Scriptures display to us in the divine transactions with mankind there represented; and which could not, as far as I can perceive, be conveyed intelligibly and impressively to us in any other way.

Let me entreat your patient contemplation of the reflections I am about to submit to you.

In human experience, one being can be only known to another by personal acquaintance, by frequent observation, by individual intercourse, and by those transactions and incidents with each other, which bring out our moral and intellectual qualities into our mutual sight, through the media of our actions and expressions, and from our visible feelings. Where persons in this world are so circumstanced that these things do not occur to their reciprocal perceptions and knowledge, they are as ignorant of each other as they are of the residents in the moon or in the comets. We are in this state as to the inhabitants of Pekin or Kamtschatka. We do not at this moment know what they are doing, who they are, nor what their qualities may be; nor should we ever have known that there were any human beings in existence in those places, if travellers had not seen and conversed with them, and written an account of what they saw and heard, and thus made their relations a part of our sensorial knowledge.

We are in this state as to all the living creatures in the planets and stars. We know nothing of them. We have had no sensorial images of them—no dealings with them, and no communications from them. They are, therefore, the same to us, and we to them, as if neither were in existence at all. All is blank, vacancy, and non-entity between us and them; as, indeed, it nearly is as to the very *orbs* they inhabit, for of these we only know the names we have attached to them, and the scintillations of light which de-

extend to our visual organs from them, with such laws of their motions as we have been able to descry.

Mankind are precisely in the same circumstances with the great and glorious Deity. None of us have seen him. No one has had any personal communication with him. No one then would, of his own experience, have any knowledge of him. All that passes from him to us, as to our world, is invisible and imperceptible to our mortal sense. He is as unseen and as unknown to us, as our soul, and thoughts, and feelings are to each other, until by words and actions we mutually impart them, in order that others may become conscious of them. This must be the case between all sentient and intelligent beings. All that is intellect and sensibility within any, can be known to himself alone, unless by some external mode of utterance or representation which will be intelligible to others, he conveys them to their perception and notice. Mind can never in itself be a visual object. Thought cannot be seen. It has no figure and no materiality. Will, desire, determination, purpose, and, indeed, power of any sort, must be equally beyond the possibility of being sensorial objects to others in their own nature and realities. They can only indicate their existence to us, and by some manner of impressing us, or by some channel of mimetic representation, be made a part of our intellectual consciousness.

Now, after viewing this difficulty in all the lights I can, I am able to discern only one way in which any mind, be it great or small, can cause its mental actions, and its feelings or wishes, to be known to and perceived by others; and this is by exciting in our sentient and thinking faculty the same movements, ideas, and feelings which it has at the time in itself, and seeks to impart. If this be not done, no knowledge passes. If I have had, from my own experience from the natural object, or from a correct pictorial representation of it, the image of a rose, and have connected that word with it, then any other person who has the same in his mind, and wishes to convey to me his ideas upon it, by pronouncing the term rose, revives my own impression and consciousness of it, and I understand what he means and talks of. But if instead of the sound rose, he spoke of a gul, then, unless I happened to know that this is the Persian name for a rose, I should no more be aware what he was conversing about, nor have any idea awakened in my mind by his vo-

servations, than if he had been silent. These remarks as to the rose apply to every word he uses. Unless I have had my previous sensations in myself and for myself of the things or feelings to which his speaking refers, and have affixed habitually the same sounds to designate them, I could not understand him. But being provided personally with these beforehand, then his words, as they flow from his lips, excite or revive in me, one after another, the kindred images and feelings to which they relate, and which I have before attained; just as the fingers touching the keys of a piano-forte produce, to the conscious listener, the various notes which, as the strings are struck, issue successively from them.

You must assist me to comprehend what I mean, by meditating on your own mind, and by observing whether you can become conscious of another's thoughts, except as he raises by his words or actions those similar ones in you, which you have beforehand obtained from preceding things. Hence, if any one speaks to you of things which you have never seen or heard of, he cannot excite any idea of them in your mind, unless he can find out some sensations which you have already had from other things that possess some features of similitude to them, by putting which together he can thus give you, by the allusive analogy, some imperfect notion of what he means. This necessity or convenience seems to be the origin and the principle of all poetical similes, and rhetorical comparisons, and illustrating metaphors, and other figures of speech. If you have not seen what I have, I must refer you to something like it of which you have had a sensation, and the image of which remains still in your memorial sensibility, and I must connect that by comparison with my new subject, or you will never understand me.

The application of these remarks to our grand subject will not be difficult, because the same reasoning and principles equally concern it; and if you feel that they do, the great purpose and use of the Jewish nation will become manifest to us in this momentous result.

The human intellect, be it child or man, is naturally, as remarked in a former Letter, totally ignorant of its God—as ignorant as it is of what is in the sun or in the north polar star. Being so, how can the Omnipotent intelligence make

itself known to us in its real nature, character, or qualities? Could it be by sight!—clearly not. He might assume a visible form, as the Jupiter of antiquity was said to have done, but that would give us no true image of the Deity. That could only be a temporary assumption of figure, which would have no more to do with his reality, than the Egyptian Apis or the Phidian statue, which he was believed formerly to inspire or reside in. All visual configurations could but be disguises of himself—masks—fictitious personations—merely tokens that he did exist, but not conveying a single impression of his divine realities; on the contrary, they would give a false representation of himself, because he was not what we should thus see; and he would thence leave an image upon our memory which would have no connexion with himself, beyond the instant that it was impressing our eyesight.

Your bodily form gives me no knowledge of the *Ideas* which, at the time I behold you, are passing in your mind. Just so, no visual appearance of the Deity would convey to us his thoughts or will—a voice must express these to us, before we could be conscious of them; and this voice must resemble ours, and utter the same vocal sounds to us which we use to each other, and in the same meanings and phrases—that is, the Deity must, for the time, assume human language, and speak in that style and in those terms which we are familiar with, and address us like a fellow human being, or he would be unintelligible to us. If he were at all above our level of thought and phrase, or used words which we did not, he would be no more comprehensible by us than any individual speaking Sanscrit or Chinese. In all intercourse between man and God, the ideas and words of the human being must be those which even the Divinity must use, for the meaning of his mind to pass intelligibly into ours. To be understood by an Adam or an Abraham, he must condescend to so adapt his thoughts and expressions to theirs, and to employ such assimilating terms and modes of speech, that these might, by the connecting analogy, make the new thoughts and ideas which he designed to impart, comprehensible by his creatures, and to arise in their minds by awakening the corresponding ideas, and thus from that time to form a part of their conscious mind and retaining memory.

This is the process which, in all speeches and conversations, we pursue with each other. We have facts or thoughts to impart which are new to others. To convey these into their minds, we select such terms as we know they are acquainted with, and as, when pronounced by us, will excite the congenial ideas that are in their minds; and we embody our communication in those phrases; and by them and by these means, reviving their ideas into trains like our own, our information passes from our mind into theirs, and from that time forms a part of its contents. If we fail to do this, if we do not employ the words they know, and whose sounds, when heard, will excite the same ideas in them as are in us, and thus, for the time being, identify their minds with ours, our meaning will not be conveyed by these to them, nor will they understand us, or have any interest or sympathy in what we are uttering.

These principles will account for the incidents and intercourse, and for the familiar phrases and conferences, which the Scripture represents the Deity to have used. It is by such ways alone that he could be at any time intelligible by man, or impressive to him. He must, for the time, assimilate himself to the habits, understanding, knowledge, and phrases of the persons he addresses, as every intelligent being must do to another whom he desires to persuade, guide, or interest.

But although words and speech are one of the great, and indeed the greatest means of our communicating our intellectual impressions and emotions to each other, yet they are usually associated with some incident, and arise from our actions and behaviour in the circumstances which take place. It is likewise in our conduct, as events occur, that the real qualities of our nature and personal character appear. We do not justly or fully apprehend these from the conversations we interchange. We require to see each other in action; and it is from our observing how others think, and feel, and conduct themselves as successive occasions arise, that we perceive and believe what they really are, and estimate them accordingly. It is thus, by a combination of words and actions, and by these being seen and heard with sufficient frequency, to cause us to form right and sufficiently ample ideas from them, that we become truly acquainted with our fellow-beings. The oftener we

observe them to act and talk in a diversity of circumstances, the more completely we understand, know, and like them, if at all amiable ; or dislike them, if they be of the repulsive species.

Now, with all due veneration, I would reverentially say, that it is only in the same way that we can have a real, intellectual, and actually-felt knowledge of our Creator, beyond the mere fact of his existence. He must condescend to put himself into action in human things, so as to interest human feelings, to excite corresponding sensations in us, and to display to us, by what he says and does, his own qualities, thoughts, wishes, and character. An abstract Deity will always be to us but a respected and recollected name. We must see him as we contemplate the persons in a drama, or a well-portraying history, in express action before us ; and hear him give utterance to his meaning and instructions as we hear them express their thoughts and feelings. Then we shall form an impressive and right conception of him, as we do of Hamlet in our poetry, and of Cæsar, Alexander, and Napoleon, in their historical biographies.

It was, I think, in this way that the Deity made himself known to Abraham, by repeated intercourse and transactions with him. In the same manner he enlarged human knowledge of himself, by his additional communications to Jacob ; and afterward in a sublimer and more extensive degree to Moses and the whole Israelitish nation ; at times, drawing the kindly affections of the human heart to admire, love, and bless him ; and at others exciting awe, fear, and adoration, by stupendous displays of his omnipotent majesty.

But it is obvious that condescension and education like this cannot be repeated to every individual who arises in human life ; nor is it necessary ; for what is fully exhibited and intelligibly represented to one, and made perceptible by him, becomes sufficiently impressive and instructive to all others, as soon as the sacred intercourse is fitly described in human language, and recorded, and so communicated to others. In reading the divine appearances and communications to Abraham, Jacob, and Moses, as narrated in the Pentateuch, I have a satisfactory acquisition of the same kind of knowledge of my God as those patriarchs received from them. Just as from perusing a drama of *Æschylus* or

Sophocles, I have as complete a notion of the personages whom they display in action and conference, as if I had been at Athens when they were first exhibited to its admiring audiences.

For these reasons I infer, that one great purpose of the formation of the Hebrew nation was, that in order to give mankind correct notions and impressive sensations of his divine meaning, qualities, and character, he might have a people distinct from the rest of the world, with whom he could have, upon his own plan, and in his chosen manner, that intercourse and those dealings on all the great subjects that arise in human life between man and God, which would exhibit himself from time to time in such actions and communications as would fully teach and lead us to conceive rightly of him—to feel and cherish due sensibilities towards him—to know and understand, clearly and impressively, his mind and will ; and by these means to become as much acquainted with him, from personal conduct, as we are with any human individual whom it is necessary for us to know.

This is the paramount value of the Sacred Scriptures to myself. I see my God acting, speaking, thinking, and teaching before me, with such assimilations to human nature, so much like my own modes of thought and feeling, though without my errors and imperfections, that I can always comprehend and appreciate him. My sympathies follow him in every part ; the perceptions he wishes to be in my mind of him and from him, arise accordingly as I read and meditate on what I read. I understand him more and more, as I more attentively peruse what is recorded for my knowledge, in this spirit and with this desire. The Scriptures are thus really a sensorial history of the Deity to us—a portraiture of the divine mind and feelings, in an instructive and vivid train of actions and expression, and made to be as analogous to our own as they possibly could be. Thus graphically and dramatically represented to me, he becomes as personally comprehensible by me, and known to me, so far as they there delineate him, as Cæsar does from my reading his Commentaries, or as Socrates in Xenophon's notes of his Attic conversations.

Thus the Jewish history is the intended portraiture of the *Deity to us*, as the various incidents there narrated, occasioned him to display himself to his selected people, and

thereby to all mankind, to whom the account of his transactions with them should, in the course of the following ages, by these writings, or by oral teaching from them, be individually communicated.

This plan of selecting a particular nation to be the special subject of an avowed divine administration, and of making special communications of the divine meaning and intentions to some individuals occasionally in it, had other important effects. It enabled the Deity to explain his mind, and meaning, and objects to those whom he addressed in the first instance, and to all afterward, to whom the accounts should spread; and by an adapted course of events, and their completed series, to instruct mankind as by a grand providential drama, carrying on a visible succession of scenes and incidents to that termination, which was intended to impress permanently the resulting moral with monitorial efficacy.

This was steadily done in the history of the Jewish nation; for this was indeed but a large and grand illustration of the first scene in paradise, and of the principles and results inculcated by that. Obey me and be happy; neglect and disobey, and certain calamity will be the final issue of that sin and folly. The felicity which would attend obedience was shown, by a powerful nation being reared from one single child, and by all the riches of temporal prosperity accompanying their multiplication; but when the violation of his laws, and the substitution of false gods took place, national decline immediately commenced. A repetition of the kindest warnings was given to them by the prophets, at the command and in the name of their true Deity, to explain to them the principles of his government and providence, and to prevent the fatal consequences of their persisting in their abandonment of his worship and moral regulations. But all these admonitions were disregarded. The infatuation was invincible. The Jewish people preferred their new divinities and superstitions to his reality and sacred laws. No persuasions, no entreaties, no threatenings could recall them from their debasing but gratifying idolatry, and its consequential immoralities; and therefore the suspended dispensation, the forewarned revolution, the judicial catastrophe was made irresistibly to follow.* They who had been the chosen

* *Jeremiah thus exhibits the Deity explaining why Israel would be and was ruined:*

people were patronised by him no longer ; the terrible invaders came on as the executioners of the divine sentence ; no courage, exertions, patriotism, or desperation could avail ; Jerusalem was taken by storm, its magnificent temple destroyed, and the whole nation expatriated and dispersed, and kept in that attenuated and miserable state, until the predicted period assigned for their captivity had elapsed. A remnant of it was then brought back to repeople the country, and to spread over it a new generation of a better kind, who remained there to be recipients of the Christian Saviour, and of his new tuition. But him also they rejected and destroyed, as they had done their older prophets ; and on this consummation of inveterate guilt, and of incorrigible perversity, they were again overwhelmed and devastated by the conquerors from the Tiber ; and the scanty survivors were driven into that state of suffering, destitution, and dispersion, in which they have ever since remained. The Assyrians and Babylonians were their first destroyers. The new Persian nation restored them. The Macedonian dynasty harassed, yet endured them, until the Roman sword became the master of the world, and subjected them to its domination. Awhile they flourished under this sterner government, that Christianity might be effectually planted among them, and from them, in the most important regions of the imperial empire. When this was secured and accomplished, then by their mad revolts, they were allowed to bring on themselves those successive exterminations from the armies of Vespasian and Hadrian from which they have not yet been permitted to recover. They are now in every region of the modern world, fulfilling by their condition and political afflictions those predictions of their ancient prophets, whose divine authority they are thus every day attesting and confirming. They are everywhere the living witnesses of the divine foresight, existence, government, and veracity. Whenever you

"I will make Jerusalem heaps ; a den of dragons ; and I will make the cities of Judah desolate, without an inhabitant.

"Who is the wise man that will understand this ? To whom hath the mouth of the Lord spoken, that he may declare it, for what the land perisheth, and is burned up like a wilderness, that none passeth through ?

"And the Lord saith, Because they have forsaken my law which I set before them, and have not obeyed my voice, neither walked therein ; but have walked after the imagination of their own heart, and after Babel, which their fathers taught them."—Jer. ix. 11-14.

take up the prophecies concerning their later state in Moses, Isaiah, Amos, and the other prophets, and look upon a Jew, and read the account of their existence in almost all the countries of the earth, and the state of that existence there, you see a miracle before you in the very act of execution. Such a survival in such a condition, with such predictions, explicitly to your own eyesight foretelling it, and declaring that it should be so, is an existing, perpetuated miracle, in the continued act of a prolonged or ever-renewed production; it is as much so in my estimation, as to see a Lazarus emerging from the tomb. The dispersion without the prophecy would not have this effect; but it is the coexistence of the prediction with the event which stamps the prophecy with a miraculous character, and makes the fulfilling incident its testimonial elucidation.*

* "I will only notice one of these numerous predictions, which every one, by a little reading, may verify for himself. It is that of Amos.—

Behold the eyes of the Lord
Are upon the sinful kingdom;
And I will destroy it from off the face of the earth;
Saying, that I will not utterly destroy
The house of Jacob; saith the Lord.
For lo! I will command,
And I will sift the house of Israel,
Among all nations;
Like as corn is sifted in a sieve:
Yet shall not the least grain
Fall upon the earth."

Amos, ix, 8, 9.

The peculiarities of this prophecy are, not the destruction and the exception of a part from that destruction, because other prophets express those incidents. But the events here specially noticed are, that they should be so dispersed as to be everywhere on the earth; but to be there in scattered bodies in every nation, often in small parcels, just as corn sifted in various places drops various heaps in each, some large and some small; and yet though thus divided and preserved, that they should not take root where they existed.

Now this condition, which applies to no people else whom the world has known, is exactly the state of the present Jewish nation. I have, during my life, made many notes of these localizations, and I find little knots of Jews in all regions of the earth; yet no where legalized and rooted.

I will select only a few of these.

Gibraltar	1,600	Transylvania	1,900
Algiers	5,000	Argovie, Switzerland	1,600
Tunis	20,000	Lower Canada	162
Cairo	2,000	Bokhara	4,000
Alexandria	600	Cabul	3 families.
Leghorn	8,000	Constantinople	50,000
Holland	21,498	Salonchi	30 synag.

Thus the Jewish history is a magnificent Epopea of the sublimest and most awful character. It has its beginning, its middle, and its end. Supernatural agency superintends and directs the whole train of its events, interposes its controlling operations according to the moral rules and principles on which it professes to be acting, and has effectuated in it those results which invest human life in all ages and nations, with a sacred character and destination to which no one should be indifferent, because all that live and think are involved in the portentous issue.

Having thus provided and settled the way and mode of making himself known by man, and perceivable and comprehensible by him, our next inquiry would be what he chose to make known of himself; how he wishes to be seen and understood; what ideas he desired that our minds should have of him, and what qualities, and attributes, and feelings, and principles it was his intention that we should believe him to be possessed of.

What he was would of course always depend upon what he was, and not upon our conceptions or knowledge of him. But as we never could know him in the fulness of his being, and only from those sensations and emotions which he should, by the means he should employ, produce within us, it would be for him to consider and to select by which of his divine

Turin	1,540	Hungary, in various	
Bavaria, in its 8 circles	53,402	places	149,313
Acre	800	Poland ditto	384,363
Beirout	100	Siberia, now	2,002
Jerusalem	10,000	East Prussia	3,685
Prague	7,308	West ditto	15,723
Frankfort	5,000	Posen	67,590
France	80,000	Brandenburg	10,341
Morocco, City	5,000	Pomerania	4,709
Berlin	5,000	Silesia	20,970
Darmstadt	512	Westphalia	11,931
Cochin	1,000	Rhine Provinces	22,422
Rome	5,000	Cochin, Malabar	1,000

So there are some in England, some in America, some in China and central Africa, some in the West Indies, some everywhere. I even found them on Mount Caucasus, in the towns and villages there, in small bodies of 50 and 100. In the above countries, where their numbers appear large, they are existing in small and scattered portions in different towns and provinces; yet everywhere they are in a depreciated and suffering state—mostly persecuted, barely tolerated, and only well treated in the most civilized kingdoms of Europe; until lately, naturalized nowhere—not yet so in England.

qualities, and by what part of his wonderful character he should be known by us.

According to his intentions in this respect, he would represent himself to us in those lights and in that mode which would convey to us the impressions he wished to form within us of himself. He would do what would excite in us the sensations and feelings concerning himself, which would make our knowledge of him what he desired it to be.

He has to do this, not in our world only, but in every sphere of existence wherein he desires to be known. The Creator of so many beauteous orbs cannot be fully known in any single one, because he will always be what that displays him to be, and also what all the others likewise exhibit him to be, yet each can only know him as he appears to be within its own domain.

He has then always to determine how much of his infinite self, of his multitudinous powers, and qualities, and perfections, he desires and appoints each world of being to entertain of him. Ever inexpressibly greater than what any single world can know or perceive, he will, in all, select the points and conceptions which each shall have of him, and also the feelings which they shall cultivate towards him.

He must then do to their consciousness what will produce these results. He must frame the material world they live in, so that this, in its laws, agencies, properties, and effects, shall convey those impressions of him which he intends shall, by this channel, be part of our mind. He must then establish that course of things which will continually raise the ideas and feelings of him which he wishes to be always in the human world, from his moral government and the conduct of his providence; and he must enter into that degree of intercourse and transactions with us, which will, from this source and channel of our knowledge, occasion and impart those more particular and more interesting ideas, which he has fixed upon that our minds shall possess and cherish concerning him.

On this plan he has shaped his revelations and communications to us; and as the commencement of a special series of these to mankind, he determined to educe specifically, and by extraordinary agency, a new population, from a chosen individual living in the common world, with whose ancestry, and leaders, and history, he chose to associate his manifesta-

tions of himself to mankind, in the relations which he meant to establish between them and himself. From them descended afterward that new order of things, which has made the modern world already so superior to the ancient ; and which is proceeding to carry on the progression of human nature to its consummation, and to that immortality of happy existence which is appointed to accompany our final melioration.

This JEWISH nation, as you will find from its scriptural history, was formed by a careful and gradual process. Abraham, like Noah, was selected from the promiscuous world, because the fittest, from his right-mindedness and piety, to be the ancestor of a better race. His father had moved from Ur, in Chaldea, to Haran, on the borders of Palestine ;* and after his death, Abraham was commanded to separate himself from all his family connexions, and to begin a pastoral and pilgrim life, migrating at times from one place to another, and never forming a fixed settlement in any.† He was then without offspring, and at the age of seventy-five.‡ But the promise was given to him, that he should still be the ancestor of a great nation, through which all “the families of the earth should be blessed.”§

He moved with his nephew Lot and their domestics into Canaan ; first to Sichem, then to Bethel ; thence southward, until a famine in this country forced him to go into Egypt for subsistence. || He returned from that nation with much property, from its king’s liberality, to Bethel ; ¶ and after Lot had separated from him, stationed himself at Hebron, in the plain of Mamre,** which became the most frequented abode of himself and his future son.

He delivered his nephew from captivity by a night expedition against those who had plundered and taken him ; †† and received again the divine assurance of a large posterity, and that they should spread from the Euphrates to the frontier of Egypt, after an affliction in this stranger kingdom, and at a distance of 400 years. ‡‡

But ten years had passed since the first promise of such an issue, and Abraham still had no child. His wife then

* Genesis, xi. 31, 2.

† Genesis, xi. 30 ; xii. 4.

‡ Genesis, xii. 6-10.

** Genesis, xii. 11, 18 ; xxxv. 27.

‡‡ Genesis, xv. v. 5, 18.

† Genesis, xii. 1-5.

§ Genesis, xii. 2, 3.

¶ Genesis, xii. 16 ; xiii. 1-4.

†† Genesis, xiv. 15, 16.

desired him to take her servant Hagar as his second wife, that there might be the expected issue.* But the assuming and contemptuous conduct of the maid on her elevation, towards her former mistress, occasioned her expulsion from the family.†

She went into the wilderness, and dwelt at a fountain of water on the way to Shur, and there brought forth Ishmael, who was destined to be the chief ancestor of the Arabians, whom we have before considered, and, therefore, of the founder of the Mahommedan system.‡ Abraham received Ishmael into his family, on whom that divine benediction was pronounced, in answer to his petition on his behalf, which our last Letter noticed.§ The father and husband's eye had therefore accompanied Hagar in her retreat, and provided for her comfort.

The Deity was pleased to keep Abraham in a state of education and discipline for 25 years, before he enabled him to have the promised son; and when the designed period arrived, the event was marked to be a special donation and a preternatural effect, by a personal communication of distinguishing kindness and solemnity.|| When he was a hundred years old, and not before, his son Isaac was born.¶ Ishmael, then a lad, was separated from him.** But this previous son still remained under the peculiar care of the divine Providence. When he settled in the wilderness, and became an archer, and married an Egyptian wife,†† the promised blessing accompanied him, and twelve sons, as had been foretold, became the progenitors of the most important portion of the Arabian population, from whom, in a direct genealogy, that military prophet descended who led the offspring of Ishmael to be the great antagonist of both the Jews and Christians; continually oppressing and despising the former, and contending for ages strenuously with the latter for the religious empire of the world. This contest has been, in our days, at length fully and finally decided.

The fierce and spurious seed of Abraham is now shrinking into settled inferiority and irrecoverable decline; while the predictive assurance that was attached to the patriarch,

* Genesis, xvi. 1-3.

† Genesis, xvi. 7-16.

‡ Gen. xviii. 1-15, 16-33.

** Gen. xxi. 9-16.

† Genesis, xvi. 4-6.

§ See before, note † p. 399.

¶ Gen. xxi. 5.

†† Gen. xxi. 17-21.

through his legitimate descendants, is every year becoming more and more expansively accomplished: "In thee and thy seed all the nations of the earth shall be blessed." I feel this prophecy to be felicitatingly fulfilled personally to myself.

The greatest present happiness of my life arises expressly from what has resulted to the world from Abraham's chosen seed; and all my anticipations of future benedictions must follow from the same source.

But what is true as to me will be equally so to you and to all; and hence both my reason and my experience bear testimony to my judgment, that in Abraham and his seed all the families of the earth have been blessed, or have the means presented to them for their being so, if they choose to profit by the offered, the ever-inviting, and the earnestly-pressed benefaction—now diffusing into the regions which had hitherto disdained it, or remained in ignorance of it.

Having thus explained the principles on which the Jewish nation was planned and formed, I will leave it to you to apply them in all the series of events which successively occurred to it, and in the divine communications with it, from the birth of Isaac, the first child of promise, to the **GREATER BEING** issuing humanly from him in whom all the predictions centred, and in whose life and tuition, death and resurrection, all have been thus far fulfilled that as yet could be effectuated; and in whose future advent, or in the period introducing it, all that remains not yet realized, will be finally and completely accomplished.

Then indeed the **GLORY** of God will be universally diffused and established among our order of beings, by every human spirit feeling, confessing, and expressing it. At present it is but partially existing and imperfectly recognised among us; for this tribute of the admiring and grateful intelligence to him must, like fame amid ourselves, arise from the conviction of the human reason, and be the spontaneous tribute of the human sensibility. It is this circumstance which should recommend the study of divine philosophy more forcibly to us; for it is from our cultivation of this, that glory to God will ascend most truly from the human spirit, and be as natural a feeling of life and nature as all the other productions and effusions of its thinking and sensitive capacities.

For when we say, Glory to God—glory be to the Father

—glory to the Lord Almighty—we mean that intellectual glorification which arises to him from the feelings, the reason, the adoration, and the convictions of his intelligent creatures in all his orbs of being; and in this world, from the human judgment and affections. We commonly use the term without any distinct discernment or appropriation of its varying import; and it may not therefore be amiss to close our correspondence with a few remarks on this sublime subject.

The glory of God may be distinguished into three kinds: 1st, Its reality; 2d, The sensations and impressions which his actual glories produce in our spirit and in other intelligent natures; and, 3d, The convictions and opinions which from these we, on our present earth, and they in their respective spheres, form and express of it.

Its *REALITY* consists in his possessed omnipotence; in his all-pervading omnipresence; in his marvellous consciousness of all the movements of his creations, and of all the thoughts and feelings of his sentient and reasoning beings; in his mysterious faculty of influence, impulse, and operation on individual mind wherever it is existing; in his effulgent Majesty and Godlike state; in the personal appearances in which he is awfully and splendidly visible when he chooses to be so; in his essential nature, which no inferior being can adequately comprehend, and in those transcendent perfections of every kind, passing again in their infinitudes far beyond all mortal conceptions, which compose and characterize his wonderful and indescribable Being. Whatever he is in any respect, is perfection in that respect; and we can have no notion of what is of this description in its completeness, except as we find it in him. All other species of what we call perfection, is but the best of what human nature has attained to be, or may be imagined to possess or to be acquiring. But the idea, as it is thus confined to ourselves, will be human, both in its origin and extent, and therefore never can be absolute perfection. The plenitude of this can reside in the Deity alone, and must always be what he is. There is no other standard and no other model for it.

These views seem to me to represent to us the real and inherent gloriousness of God; and this he undivestingly possesses, whether any of his creatures perceive or recog-

impressions that we form our strongest sensation—knowledge of his glory.

In this form it is accompanied with beneficence, quietude, and pleasure. In the lightning the same impression is made by light, under circumstances which intimidate; as also in the volcanic and other mighty conflagrations. Here light produces the sensations of what is glorious, but always commingled with awe and terror.

We imitate the effect of light in all our endeavours to display glory in human things. We attach splendour to them, radiations of light, in some degree or other.

In painting glory as an appendage to sacred things, it is always represented as encircling light.

2d. By awing sound. This excites a dismaying feeling within us. It produces a sensorial terror in the thunder and the tempestuous wind. Whether we will or no, it shakes our frame, it agitates our nervous system, and was meant to do so. The 29th Psalm describes his glory as thus exhibited, asserted, and conveyed to us.

This impresses on us the sense of that portion of his glory which arises from his power and dreadful might. The effulgent light exhilarates and pleases. The destructive lightning and the dismaying thunder and storm alarm, intimidate, and make us feel a dread of his formidable power.

Both invest him and our sensations of him with the highest degree of majesty that we can feel and be conscious of.

3d. But there are another character and cause of his glory, and source of impressions of it in us, of a different kind, in the BEAUTIES and skilfulness exhibited, in such vast multiplicity, in his natural kingdoms. In studying these, we perceive and feel that he is the cause and creator of beauty, and of all that is beautiful; and likewise of all the admirable forms and motions that are visible in living things. Here we see beauty of figure, beauty of colour, beauty of position and arrangement, and every grace and beauty of all species of motion; of all that implies vigour, alacrity, majesty, softness, and elegance of movement.

4th. From the same source arises a sense of his glory in his transcendent and universal GOODNESS, in the delicious, and useful, and delightful things which he has made in order to give us pleasure.

ALL these impressions are meant to lead our minds to

create and compose from them *THAT GLORY* which is his actual glory among us—our perceptions, and inferences, and opinions, and expressed judgments, and sentiments of it. It is we who must make this glory to him which is due from us, and which consists in our impressions, and opinions, and declarations, feelings, and descriptions of him.

Meaning that we should form conclusions and notions of this sort, and make them a part of our intellectual conceptions, thought, and language, he has selected the subjects, modes, and species of the glory of this sort which he chooses to have from us; and has therefore put those causes and means into action which lead us to our sensations of it, in its various compartments, as he wishes.

Our mind from the impressions and actions of these causative means will, if it be right principled, have the proper ideas and feelings of glory to him corresponding with his meaning and wishes.

III.—But the glory which arises to the Deity from these sensations and emotions of the human soul, will be in truth rather his productions than ours. They occur to us from his operations upon us; and our sense of his glory thus derived is quite different from that *SPONTANEOUS* tribute and offering of it which the human spirit alone on this earth has the capacity to give, and which, as our own voluntary formation, and as the conviction and homage of an intelligent judgment and decision, he desires most to receive.

THIS is the grand production which the sacred history of the human world should incline and prepare us to present gratefully and dutifully to him.

And THIS will be our actual perception and conviction of his wisdom, his goodness, his greatness, his moral and intellectual perfections, and therefore of his unceasing benevolence, beneficence, righteousness, and sanctity. We must feel that he is glorious in these, as he is in his material creations and celestial effulgences. We must convince our reason that he is "good to all, and that his tender mercies are over all his works."* We must study his principles, and providence, and sacred revelations, until we individually and distinctly perceive that he "is gracious and full of compassion: slow to anger, and great in mercy."† And above

* Psalm cxlv. 9.

† Ib. 8.

all things, that he is "righteous in all his ways, and holy in all his works."* These last-mentioned feelings are those which we should be most careful to acquire and most steadily cultivate. For a conviction of the justice of God, of his perfect equity and righteous dealings with us all, and of his being pure from all partial wrong, or capricious, malign, and selfish motives, is that impression which is the most vacillating and imperfect in the minds of many of our fellow-beings. Yet it is that from which his greatest glory will always arise from his intelligent creatures.

He is so tremendously great and so irresistibly omnipotent, that nothing but his most perfect righteousness offers to the human spirit any safety or protection from destruction or undue infelicities. We see and feel that pain is abroad in this world, and that we are very sensitive to it here, and frequently suffer from it. What we thus know to be here may also be elsewhere. It becomes, therefore, of vast consequence to us to discern and know, however petty we are compared with him, yet that he is so perfectly just that we never shall receive pain from him or under his administration that is either unnecessary or unequitable to us. He must be as perfect in his righteousness as he is in all his other moral and intellectual qualities. For us, therefore, to perceive this, and to present our conviction and acknowledgment of it to him, as the decided, and firm, and abiding conclusion of our knowledge, experience, and reason, will be the highest tribute of glory which the human soul can offer to him, and which, as far as what we do can please him, is most likely to be the most acceptable to him, most desired by him, and most honouring on our parts to him.

Let us then at all times do him this justice ; to cherish in our minds an unrelaxing certainty, that we shall always find him perfect in his justice to us all, and in every thing, and individually to each of us, as soon as we obtain sufficient knowledge of his operations with respect to us. Let us wait with patience, until what we do not perceive or cannot comprehend shall be satisfactorily elucidated to us. We expect this equity and consideration in our intercourse with each other. Let us also so conduct ourselves in all our thoughts and feelings with reference to him, whatever may be his pres-

* Psalm cxlv. 17.

ent or future dispensations personally to ourselves. These convictions and feelings will form the greatest glory which the human spirit can offer spontaneously to its Creator : and the grandest result of the great day of the judicial consummation of all things will be the complete demonstration to all existing intelligences of the perfect equity and justice to all of their all-mighty and all-governing God. It will be a day of trial, and proof, and conviction of his universal righteousness, as it will be of our qualities and conduct ; and the final award to each of us will be in manifested and undisputed harmony and unity with this divine perfection in himself ; and THIS will be the triumph of HIS INTELLECTUAL GLORY.

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